CULTURAL HERITAGE O[illegible]SHMIR

BY

SURES CHANDRA[illegible]JI

Cultural Heritage of Kashmir

—a survey of Kashmir's contribution to Sanskrit Literature.

BY

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WITH A FOREWORD BY
Dr. R. C. MAJUMDAR

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In Memoriam

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU,

a noble son of India,
as an humble token of the
author's profound
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FOREWORD

Secluded from the plains of Northern India by hills and dales, Kashmir has enjoyed throughout history the reputation of being the most beautiful spot in the whole of India. It was looked upon as the heaven on earth, for the beauty of its natural landscape is only matched by the beauty of its men and women. Politically it has led a life of isolation from the rest of India except during rare intervals such as the reign-period of Lalitāditya in the eighth century A.D. when it played an important role in the general history of India.

But in spite of such isolation, due to geographical factors, the Hindu culture found in this region a congenial home which made highly significant contribution to the development of literature, religion and philosophy. The only historical work, deserving that name, in Sanskrit language was produced in Kashmir. This unique literary production—*Rājataraṅgiṇī*—furnishes a picture of Indian kings, queens, officials, chiefs and common men, such as we do not get anywhere else. In many other fields, too, the literary output of Kashmir excels both in quality and quantity. Poetical works covering a wide diversity of themes—historical, religious, devotional, didactic, romantic, satirical, and even pornographical, as well as philosophical treatises expounding the views of a distinct school of Śaivism that developed in Kashmir, works dealing with poetics and music, anthologies and lexicons, the works of the prolific writer Kṣemendra, specially the *Bṛhat-kathā-mañjarī*, and Somadeva's *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*—all these and many other works on diverse topics touching upon various aspects of human life constitute a rich legacy of which any part of India may well feel proud.

An account of all these literary works preceded by short sketches of the political, social and religious condition of Kashmir forms the subject-matter of this book. Such a work, concerned exclusively with the cultural heritage of Kashmir, was a great desideratum. The author has rendered a great service to the history and study of Indian culture by bringing out this small book which gives a brief but lucid and critical account of Kashmir's contribution to the Indian culture. It gives me great pleasure to introduce this work to the reading public, and I feel confident that it will not only be a welcome addition to Indological studies, but also add to the high reputation which the author has so deservedly earned by his other scholarly works.

Calcutta,
13. 6. 1965.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

PREFACE

Kashmir is aptly called the paradise on earth. Nature has lavished all her cherished treasures on this valley. The landscape of Kashmir and its environs is simply marvellous. The lakes brimming with water, the snow-capped mountains beaming in sunshine, the trees laden with flowers and fruits, all attract the eye and enchant the heart. A thing of beauty, this valley has been a perennial source of joy to people.

In the annals of post-independence India Kashmir has made great news. The citizens of India and indeed all those who prize India's freedom are anxious to preserve the integrity of the state of Jammu and Kashmir in view of its strategic position. Their political zeal, however, should not make them oblivious of the contribution of Kashmir to the cultural history of India.

Kashmir has been, in a sense, the architect of the political destiny of India ever since independence. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who had been until recently at the helm of the political affairs of India, belonged to a family which hailed from Kashmir and settled in Uttar Pradesh. It is curious to note that this small tract of land led India culturally too through centuries. The contribution of the scholars of this region to poetics as a discipline is invaluable. In fact, all the noteworthy schools of thought in poetics originated in this remote corner of India. Kalhaṇa stands as a colossus in the history of Sanskrit literature, and, to a considerable extent, removes the slur relating to the paucity of historical writings in India. Dāmodaragupta virtually created a literary *genre* by composing the pornographical work called *Kuṭṭanī-mata*. Kṣemendra is a literary giant striding across the pages of the literary history of India. His writings on a wide variety of subjects reveal him as a man of

keen sensitiveness and insight, and have enriched Sanskrit literature. The faculty of original thinking, possessed by the Kashmirian scholars, is attested by their philosophical writings too. The Śaiva philosophy of Kashmir was recognised as a distinct school of thought. Abhinavagupta is an outstanding figure not only in the domain of Śaiva philosophy, but also in the realms of Sanskrit poetics and dramaturgy. There is hardly any branch of Sanskrit learning on which the Kashmirian scholars did not leave the impress of their profound erudition.

During my studies in Sanskrit literature often have I wondered at the bulk and quality of the literary output of the Kashmirians. There has, however, been no attempt hitherto at a systematic study of Kashmir's contribution to Sanskrit literature. The books on history of Sanskrit literature are practically the sole source of information in this respect. In some cases, however, the information contained in these books is too meagre to enlighten us on the contents of particular works or on the personal history of their authors.

The present brochure owes its origin to a desire to present a coherent account of the Sanskrit literature produced in Kashmir against the political and social background of this province. As is to be expected, we find vigorous literary activity in Sanskrit under the Hindu rulers of Kashmir. From about the middle of the twelfth century Sanskrit learning languished in this valley. It was the period of general decadence of Sanskrit literature, and the process was considerably hastened in Kashmir by the increasing use of Persian as the language of administration and culture. The stream of Sanskrit learning no doubt stagnated under the Sultans, but it did not dry up completely. Some of the Sultans extended their patronage to Sanskrit literature, and noteworthy Kāvyas and other kinds of Sanskrit works were composed in this period too. An interesting feature of the Sanskrit literature of the Sultanate period is the use of a large number of Arabic, Persian and Turkish

words like Khātonā (Khātun), Khānagāha (Khānqāh), Mallika (Malik), Masjeda or Masedāha (Masjid), Madrasā, Ravāva (Rabāb), Suratrāṇa (Sultan), etc.

We have tried to make our work as objective as possible and suitable to the general reader. Accounts of the contents of the works have been given after a direct reading of the texts, wherever possible. Biographical information about the authors, as gathered from the works themselves as well as from external sources, has been briefly set forth. In the chapters, dealing with the different classes of literary works, we have sought to bring to a bold relief the special features of the writings of Kashmirian scholars.

The author will consider his labour amply rewared if this little book goes some way in apprising the readers of the vast and varied contribution of Kashmir to the inexhaustible fund of Sanskrit learning, and in making the Kashmirians conscious of their precious heritage which should not be allowed, due to the impact of political and other circumstances, to sink into oblivion.

The author takes this opportunity to express his gratitude to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, doyen among historians of India, for having kindly written a Foreword to this book.

It is a curious coincidence that this Preface has got to be written, at the request of the Press, on the very day on which India is paying homage to the late lamented leader, Pandit Nehru, to whose hallowed memory this monograph is respectfully dedicated.

Calcutta, May 27, 1965. S. C. Banerji.

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We [illegible] objective [illegible] Accounts of [illegible] ding of the [illegible] Biographical information about the [illegible] themselves as well as [illegible] briefly set forth. In the chapters [illegible] works, we have [illegible] the writers of [illegible]

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[illegible] Banerji.

[illegible] 27, 19[illegible]

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PART I

THE LAND, GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

Kashmir—its antiquity and geography

Kashmir ! The word causes a thrill of delight in the minds of Indians. It is a by-word of all that is beautiful. The word conjures up the picture of beautiful landscapes, handsome people, delicious fruits, marvellous tapestries and other pieces of handicraft and, above all, a salubrious climate which is an elixir of life. Truly has it been characterised as the earthly paradise.

The land of Kashmir[1] has a long history to narrate. Except for a reference, in the *Ṛgveda* (X.75.5), to the river Marudvṛdhā, whose identity with the present Maruwardwan of Kashmir has not yet been definitely established, there is nothing to indicate the Vedic Aryan's familiarity with this region. The earliest references to this land and its people are, perhaps, contained in Pāṇini's celebrated grammar and in its Great Commentary by Patañjali.

The *Mahābhārata* (II. 27. 17) knows the people of this land and their king. The Purāṇas[2] are aware of the Kashmirians as a northern nation. The astrological work *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira and Śrī Harṣa's drama *Ratnāvalī* are some of the early Sanskrit works to refer respectively to some Kashmirian tribes and Kashmirian saffron.

Ptolemy is one of the early foreigners to refer to Kaspeira which is equated to Kashmir. The northern frontiers and

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1. The people of Kashmir, who call themselves and their language Koshur or Kāshur designate this land as Kashīr. Some suggest that the name Kashmir is another form of Ka-samīra which means a land from which water (*Ka*) is drained off by wind (*samīra*). In Sanskrit the word 'Kasmīra' in neuter means saffron which grows in Kashmir. For other suggested etymologies of the name, see G.M.D. Sufī : *Kashīr* I, p. 12f.

2. For example, *Vāyu-purāṇa* XLV. 120, *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, IV. 24.18, etc.

states of India were generally known to the Chinese. The earliest definite reference to Kashmir, however, is found in the writings of Che-mong who visited this region early in the fifth century A. D. That Kashmir was a seat of learning is attested by the account left by another Chinese traveller, Fa-yong, of the same century. Hiuen Tsang, who visited India in the seventh century A.D., left a fairly full account of the geography and religious condition of this land.

Muslim writers like Al-Masudi and Al-Qazwini have given us some information, albeit very scanty, on the historical geography of Kashmir a much fuller account of which is found in Alberuni's *Kitabul-Hind*.

Marco Polo is, perhaps, the last foreigner who, in the mid-thirteenth century, left an account of Kashmir.

As one casts a glance at the north-west of India, Kashmir-Jammu[1] at once catches the eye. Beyond this there is no territory of the Indian Union. This state is situated roughly between 32·17′. and 36·58′ N, between 73·26′ and 80′ 30′ E. It extends a little over eighty-two thousand square miles with a population of 4,021,616 according to the census report of 1941. The ancient kingdom of Kashmir was considerably smaller than the present state including the Pakistan-occupied portion.

The valley of Kashmir, with an average altitude of 6,000 feet above sea-level, is surrounded on all sides by mountain-ranges and dotted with rivers and lovely lakes. The most noteworthy mountains are the Nanga Parbat to the north, the Harmukh to the east, the Mahādeo on the south overlooking the present capital city of Śrīnagara and the range of Gwash Brari and the lofty peak of Amarnāth. On the south-west is the Pīr-Pantsāl range. On the north-west is the stately Kajinag, The mountain-barriers provided a natural defence against the incursions of foreigners for a long time.

1. It should be noted that this state, having been a victim of political dispute between India and Pakistan, is now truncated, a substantial portion being under the occupation of the latter,

The valley is fertile yielding rich harvests of barley, maize and wheat.

The valley of Kashmir has, from ancient times, been divided into two major parts, viz. Kamrāz (Sanskrit Kramarājya) and Marāz (Skt. Maḍavarājya) each of which was subdivided into several regions called *Viṣayas*.

CHAPTER II

Historical background

Kashmir has been a cradle of many races whose languages and cultural patterns were fused into a composite group. This is borne out partly by historical records and partly by linguistic evidence. The Indo-Greek invasion of this region in the second century B.C. might have resulted in some race-admixture. In the same century the Śakas, under the pressure of Yue-chis, infiltrated into India through the north-western frontiers. It is not unlikely that a section of the Śakas or their descendants living in the neighbouring Baltistan made their way into the valley. There is positive evidence of Kashmir having been ruled over by the Kuṣīṇas in the early centuries of the Christian era. Of Kaniṣka's sway over the valley there is no doubt whatsoever. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that a number of Yue-chis settled down here, and there is archaeological evidence in suppport of this conjecture. The beautiful and sequestered Kashmir valley probably provided a resting ground for the invading Huns in the 5th-6th century A.D. Hiuen Tsang and Kalhaṇa confirm the sway, over Kashmir, of the Hun ruler Mihirakula. The Gurjaras, who might have belonged to the Hun stock or have been a distinct race, penetrated into India through the north-west. and probably settled in Kashmir before the Muslim occupation of the valley, Even to-day a large proportion of the Kashmirian population is constituted by the Gurjars, the Rājputs and Jāts all of whom trace their origin to the Gurjaras. The Bhauṭṭas, whose onslaught on Kashmir is referred to by Kalhaṇa (R.T. 1. 312), were the people of Tibet which had close contacts with Kashmir. It is not unlikely that some Tibetans settled down in the valley. The Kirātas. mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a low-class section of the Kashmirian population, are believed to be of Tibeto-Burman stock.

Kashmir's contact with the plains of India dates back to hoary antiquity. We have it on Kalhaṇa's authority (R. T. 1.101-107) that the Muurya Emperor Aśoka founded the city of Śrīnagara, and set up some religious establishments. It is probable that, at Aśoka's time, there was a brisk social and cultural intercourse between Kashmir and the Indian plains. As a result, quite a number of Indians must have settled there. Throughout the long Hindu rule Indians in large number are likely to have emigrated to Kashmir ; this perhaps accounts for the widespread Sanskrit culture of the land.

The vocabulary of the Kashmirian language has some Sanskrit words, but the language itself is not basically Sanskrit. It belongs to the Dardic group which branched off from the parent Aryan group, and had a parallel development with Indo-Aryan. In some respects, it shares the characteristics of both the Indo-Aryan and the Iranian. This Dardic language was dubbed Paiśācī by the Indian grammarians. The Dardic-speaking people appear to have lived originally in the Pamir whence they migrated to Kashmir through Citral and Gilgit. The language of Kashmir contains a sprinkling of Burushaski, the language of the non-Aryan race of the same name. This fact has led some scholars to infer that the Burushaski people were the original inhabitants of Kashmir. The tribes or races which successively peopled Kashmir were, according to the '*Nīlamatapurāṇa*, the Nāgas, the Piśācas and other men. These perhaps correspond to the Burushaskis, the Dards and the Sanskrit-speaking people of the Indian plains.

Of the political history of Kashmir from the earliest times Kalhaṇa's *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* is the principal source. But regarding the pre-Aśokan period this work contains more of fiction and fancy than of fact. The Persian and Greek sources tend to prove that Kashmir was one of the regions to come under the sway of Persian rulers. Alexander, while leaving India, is stated to have permitted the king of Abhisāra to rule over Kashmir along with some other places.

From the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, the Buddhist work *Mahā-vaṃśa* as well as from Hiuen Tsang's account we learn that this valley formed part of the empire of Aśoka who, though tolerant towards the Brahmanical religion, had *Stūpas* built in Kashmir besides building the city of Śrīnagara. Kalhaṇa tells us that Aśoka was succeeded by his son and the latter by his son. The fall of the Maurya empire ushered in a period when the north-west of India fell a victim to foreign invasions from which Kashmir was not immune. The political stability of Kashmir was revived by the rulers Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka who were respectively the Kuṣāṇa kings Huviṣka, Vāṣiṣka and Kaniṣka I.

The next historical figure, who is difinitely known to have ruled over Kashmir, is the Hūṇa ruler Mihirakula. But the history of the period between the end of the Kuṣāṇa rule and the emergence of the Hūṇa sway is confused. How long the Kuṣāṇa rule continued is not known with certainty. Kalhaṇa mentions a number of rulers in the period intervening between the Kuṣāṇas and the Hūṇas. This period is reported to have witnessed the predominance of Buddhism and ultimately the revival of the traditional religion. Mihirakula's rule over Kashmir is testified to by Kalhaṇa, and is corroborated by Hiuen Tsang. This ruler is stated to have been a devout Śaiva.

A veil of obscurity hangs over a period of about one hundred years following Mihirakula. Kalhaṇa does mention a series of kings and a host of events in this period. But his account is at places so disfigured by hopeless exaggeration and so blended with awful supernatural element that one cannot pick out the truth from the morass of untruth. Moreover, in respect of this period this poet-chronicler's account has no corroborative evidence. All that can be gathered as probably true is that this period saw the establishment of a number of shrines dedicated to Śiva and of some charitable institutions for Brāhmaṇas. Some Buddhist monasteries and a few temples in honour of Viṣṇu also were perhaps set up. We may probably accept as true

also the information that sometime in this peirod the valley was torn by internal dissensions and that it was brought under the rule, however brief, of Harṣa.

It is with the accession of Durlabhavardhana that we stand on the solid bed-rock of history. He is stated to have been a petty official of king Bālāditya whose daughter, Anaṅgalekhā, was married by him, On Bālāditya's death Durlabha occupied the throne, and ruled from 600 to 636 A. D. The history of Kashmir from thls period down to the tenth century is narrated by Kalhaṇa with tolerable accuracy, although legendary lore and exaggerated accounts sometimes intrude into the realm of sober history. Happily for us, the Chinese historians, Alberuni and the Kashmirian scholars like Kṣemendra and Jonarāja corroborate Kalhaṇa's account, and make up for the deficiency af the latter. Numismatic evidence also is a guide to us for the history of this period.

Durlabha is represented as having been born to Nāga Karkoṭa, the serpent-deity worshipped in Kashmir. He is thus the founder of the Karkoṭa dynasty. Hiuen Tsang perhaps visited Kashmir during his reign. Durlabha's kingdom appears to have extended beyond the river Vitastā up to Uraśā or Hazāra, Takṣaśilā and Siṃhapura or the Salt Range thus including the hill states of Rājapurī and Parṇotsa.

After the death of Durlabha no less than fifteen kings of the Karkoṭa dynasty ruled over Kashmir till the middle of the ninth century. The post-Durlabha Karkoṭa rule was marked by many events of diverse character. His son and successor Durlabhaka or Pratāpāditya II founded the city of Pratāpapura (modern Tapar). Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya, perhaps the most noteworthy ruler of this line, is reported to have carried his victorious arms to the Himalayan regions and to the plains of India, viz. Kanauj, Kaliṅga and Gauḍa. He is stated also to have marched through Koṅkaṇa, Dvārakā and Avanti. The account of his conquests may be exaggerated; because, of his conquest of Gauḍa, Kaliṅga and

of the states in southern and western India there is no confirmation from other sources. But, the defeat of the powerful Yaśovarman of Kanauj at his hands admits of little doubt. Lalitāditya is credited with the construction of Stūpas, Vihāras and Caityas some of which exist even today. The landed class, known as Ḍāmaras, became very powerful during his reign, and posed a threat to the security of the throne. The king rightly thought of crushing them—a task which death prevented him from fulfilling.

Lalitāditya's reign was followed by a succession of rulers who were weak and vicious. It was in this period that the valley passed temporarily to the hands of aliens. The Arab governor of Sind conquered Kashmir. After a brief break, the Karkoṭa rule was revived under Jayāpīḍa who is stated to have vanquished the king of Kanauj besides the king of Nepal and another king of eastern India. Scholars of the eminence of Udbhaṭa, Dāmodaragupta etc. are reported to have adorned his court. We learn also that he founded the new capital of Jayapura.

The Karkoṭa rulers, who flourished after Jayāpīda, proved to be worthless as men and as kings. Taking advantage of the minority of one of them, Cippaṭajayāpīḍa, his maternal uncle, became the *defacto* ruler, and eventually put him to death. The Karkoṭa dynasty came to an end with the accession of Avantivarman, son of Sukhavarman who was son of Utpala, one of the maternal uncles of the said Cippaṭa. An important fact about Kashmir under the Karkoṭa rulers is that China supplied them with men and money for their expeditions in the different regions of India.

Avantivarman's reign extended from 855 to 883 A. D. The later Karkoṭa rulers left the country in utter confusion, and economically Kashmir was in a miserable condition. Avantivarman was faced with the colossal task of economic reconstruction and the suppression of the menacing Ḍāmaras. His reign was glorious in that, during this period, Ānandavardhana, the poetician, Śivasvāmin and Ratnākara, the poets, and Kallaṭa, the Śaiva philosopher, flourished in Kashmir.

Avantivarman was succeeded by his son Śaṅkaravarman. His attempt at rebuilding the empire of Kashmir met with partial success. Śaṅkara's death was followed by a peirod of confusion and intrigue. There was constant feud among the rival claimants of the throne. The Tantrins posed a grave threat. They were put down with the help of Ḍāmaras who afterwards themselves assumed a menacing attitude. After many political vicissitudes and the rule of many a king Kashmir came under the sway of Kṣemagupta (950 A.D.) He married Diddā, daughter of a Lohara king. This marriage was of tremendous political significance. It not only brought Kashmir and Lohara very close to each other, but the valley passed to the Lohara family after the death (1003 A.D.) of Diddā, a ruthless and immoral lady but nevertheless an able queen who assumed the reins of government in 980 A.D.

After Diddā's death the throne passed to Saṃgrāmarāja of Lohara. His reign was marked by the rebellion of Brāhmaṇas and temple-priests and by corruption of officials who oppressed the public. It was during this time that Sultān Māhmud of Ghazni overran the valley, carried away fabulous booty and converted many people to Islam. Two more efforts of the Sultān to conquer Kashmir were abortive.

Saṃgrāmarāja was succeeded by Harirāja and the latter by Ananta. The Sāhi princes, expelled from Und by the Muslim invaders, took shelter in Ananta's court and exercised considerable influence on the politics of Kashmir. Ananta quelled a rebellion of the Ḍāmaras, and repulsed an invasion by a Darad ruler. Ananta led expeditions against some neighbouring states with varying degrees of success and even failure in some cases. Ananta abdicated the throne in favour of his son Kalaśa. A noteworthy event took place at this time. Kṣitirāja, a king of Lohara, relinquished the reins of government, and gave the kingdom to Utkarṣa, son of Kalaśa, in preference to his own son.

When Utkarṣa succeeded Kalaśa, he became the joint ruler of Lohara and Kashmir. But, fickle fortune did not favour him. His tactless conduct enraged his followers. Two

princes, whom he had offended, allied themselves with the Ḍāmaras, and, having confined Utkarṣa to the palace, released Harṣa, the rebel son of Kalaśa and elder brother of Utkarṣa, who was kept in the prison by both his father and brother.

Harṣa occupied the throne in 1089 A.D., threw Utkarṣa into prison where the latter committed suicide. He started administration with great promise. Himself a lover of letters, he extended warm patronage to artists and litterateurs. Wise domestic policy earned him admiration. But, he proved to be a spendthrift having been given to excessive luxury. His ambitious projects of extending his sway over the neighbouring mountain territories also drained the royal treasury. To add to his troubles, plots were hatched up by his brother and relatives to dethrone him and even to put him to death. With a firm hand he foiled these plots, and slew some of their authors. Now he set his heart on replenishing the treasury, and, with this end in view, adopted all sorts of means fair and foul. He extorted money by imposing heavy taxes, and even by confiscating temple-properties and selling images of deities for their metal value. His personal life at this time was blackened by his recourse to debauchery. His ill-conducted expeditions against Rājapurī and the fort of Dugdhaghāṭa met with utter failure. At this time, the ill-fated valley fell a victim to natural calamities like famine and plague. In the wake of all this, the administration of Kashmir was in a lamentable state of confusion when life and property became insecure. The Ḍāmaras exploited the situation, and raised their rebellious heads against the king. Some of them were put down. The suspicious Harṣa nursed a feeling that princes Uccala and Sussala, who were offshoots of the Lohara dynasty and helpful allies of the klng, had a design on his throne. He was contemplating their murder when they, helped by Ḍāmaras and others, defeated him in a battle and finally put him to death,

On Harṣa's death in 1101 A.D. the aforesaid Uccala came to the throne. He removed his brother, Sussala, who had a greedy eye on the throne of Kashmir, to Lohara to rule over

that kingdom. Having realised the potential threat from the Ḍāmaras he kept them under control partly by resort to arms but largely by a stroke of diplomacy. Uccala tried to tone up the internal administration by removing the corrupted Kāyastha officials, and earned the goodwill of his subjects by ameliorative measures. But, lack of tact in certain matters alienated his followers and dependants. Uccala found himself face to face with a series of unhappy situations in which there were attempts by his brother, Sussala, and by some Ḍāmaras, to deprive him of the coveted throne. Misfortune dogged his footsteps and, at last, he fell a victim to dastardly murder in one night at the hands of conspirators.

Uccala's death in 1111 A.D. was followed by a brief period of political instability in which the throne frequently changed hands when at last Sussala came to power in 1112 A.D. The crown that Sussala wore was one of thorns. Some Ḍāmaras and others attempted, though unsuccessfully, to oust him or even to take away his life. With the help of some officers Sussala no doubt succeeded in filling the treasury, but his exacting fiscal measures made him unpopular. Expensive expeditions depleted the treasury, and the king had to extort more money from the people ; this measure proved to be the last straw on the camel's back. Added to the people's discontent there was a fresh Ḍāmara rising which was, however, curbed successfully. Bhikṣācara, a pretender to the throne, supported by Ḍāmaras and top-ranking military officers, alienated by the king's unseemly conduct, posed a dangerous threat. For sometime Sussala held his own, but at last was forced to leave for Lohara. Bhikṣācara came to power, but within a brief period proved an unsuccessful administrator with the result that Sussala again grabbed the throne of Kashmir. In the period that followed, Sussala had to fight against Ḍāmaras and Bhikṣācara.

Sussala was the *defacto* ruler although he placed his son Jayasiṃha on the throne. Sussala, however, lost his life at the hands of a conspirator named Utpala. Jayasiṃha's early career was full of trouble at home and abroad, but subsequ-

ently he consolidated his power, and engaged himself in constructive work. He died about 1154 A.D.

He was followed by a series of kings none of whom was very famous. Their reigns were marked by internal dissensions, foreign invasions and intrigues. In the reign of a king, Suhadeva by name, one Duluca, who was probably a Turk Mahomedan, invaded Kashmir and went away after his predatory activities. The second invasion was by one Bhauṭṭa Riñcana. He seized the royal power, and retained in his service a Muslim adventurer named Sahamera (Shāh Mīr). Riñcana lost his life in c. 1323 A.D. at the hands of conspirators. Sahamera put one Udayanadeva on the throne, and on the latter's death in 1338 A.D. Koṭādevī, queen of the departed Riñcana, assumed power. She was soon ousted by Sahamera who occupied the throne (1338 A.D.) under the title of Sultān Shamsuddin. The Sultān forced an unwilling marriage on Koṭādevī who spent but one night with him, and was thrown into prison where she is reported to have committed suicide.

This marks the beginning of Muslim rule in Kashmir, and the virtual end of the cultivation of Sanskrit learning in that valley.[1]

1. As no noteworthy Sanskrit work appears io have been produced in the Muslim period, we do not sketch the political conditions following the end of Hindu rule.

CHAPTER III

Society and Religion[1]

From the literary works of Kashmir we get a picture of the society of the valley and the religion of the Kashmirians. The top class was the Brāhmaṇas, and the low class was constituted by the Kirātas, Niṣādas, Ḍombas, Caṇḍālas etc. The Brāhmaṇas pursued their usual vocations of study, teaching, performance of religious rites for themselves as well as for others. The temple-priests, of whom there appears to have been a large number, lived upon the revenue yielded by the villages dedicated to the temples. The Brāhmaṇas in general received gifts from people on ceremonial occasions and got *agrahāras* or landgrants from kings for their maintenance. Besides these usual means of livelihood, some of the Brāhmaṇas accepted political and military service also.

The Kirātas, descending from the Tibeto-Burman stock, and the Niṣādas appear to have lived chiefly by hunting. The Ḍombas, sometimes associated with Caṇḍālas, appear to have earned their livelihood by hunting, singing, dancing and menial service. They were looked down upon by the Brāhmaṇas. The Caṇḍālas lived by fighting, working as royal body-guards, watchmen and executioners.

The society of Kashmir consisted of a motley population in which we find teachers, astrologers, physicians, agriculturists, industrialists, tradesmen, labourers and various other professionals. The economy was largely agricultural. Between the tillers of the soil and the king there were the Ḍāmaras who were the feudal landlords. Gradually the Ḍāmaras became so powerful that they sometimes defied royl authorty, and even played the rôle of king-makers.

1. As it is our concern to give an idea of the setting against which Sanskrit literature devoloped in Kashmir, we sketch the social and religious conditions relating to only the period of the growth of this literature.

From the tenth century onwards they appear to have been a very powerful factor for the kings to reckon with. With the territorial expansion of Kashmir there was naturally an increased volume of trade, and merchants came to be a rich section of the population. With the decline of trade and commerce after about the ninth century A. D., the merchants took to money-lending, and harassed the public by various exacting methods.

Besides the above classes of people, there were the royal officers. Of them the dignitaries like the Sarvādhikāra (Prime Minister), Sachiva (Minister), Maṇḍaleśa (Governor), Kampaneśa (Commander-in-chief) and princes serving at the royal court constituted the upper stratum. They were affluent, lived a life of ease and luxury and sometimes owned estates. The middle stratum was constituted by the Kāyasthas who occupied posts of varying importance, e. g. Gṛhakṛtyādhipati (Chief executive officer of internel administration), Paripālaka (Provincial governor), Gañja-divira (Accountant General), Niyogin (Supervisor of villages and Parganās), Nagarādhipa (Head of urban administration), Śaulkika (Customs Officer) etc. Thus they were the principal parts of the bureucratic machinery, and taking advantage of their positions they took to all sorts of dishonest means in order to extort money from the people. Kalhaṇa in his *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* and Kṣemendra in his *Narma-mālā* paint the Kāyasthas with the blackest hue.

The Kashmirian society shows evidence of polygamy though monogamy was, perhaps, the ideal. Kings had many queens besides concubines, and aristocrats also had women in their keeping. Some of the queens of Kashmir played an active and effective rôle in the administration of Kashmir. Girls before marriage appear to have received, at their house, training in the seience of love, music, dance, painting, needlework and various other arts that go to make an efficient housewife. Widows were expected to lead a life of austerity. Of the custom of women, including queens, burning themselves to death on the funeral pyres of their

husbands there are many instances. Prostitution appears to have been common. There are descriptions of depravity on the part of women both in the royal seraglio and among certain classes of people. The institution of Devadāsī, or a girl dedicated to dancing in a temple, existed in Kashmir as in many other parts of India.

Literary evidence points to the prevalence of serpent-worship in the valley from a remote antiquity. The Nāgas were held in such veneration that the Karkoṭa dynasty traced its descent from Nāga Karkoṭa. There is evidence, both literary and archaeological, of Kashmir having been a great centre of Buddhism which perhaps entered the valley as early as the third century B. C. to a great extent overshadowing the Nāga-cult. Buddhism gathered a momentum at the time of Aśoka of whose empire it was a part, and reached the peak of development in the Kuṣāṇa period. It was at the time of Kaniṣka that the fourth Buddhist Council was held in Kashmir where some important Buddhist treatises were composed and Buddhist scholars of great eminence flourished. Itself a stronghold of Buddhism, Kashmir played a significant part in the spread of this religion to lands outside India up to Central Asia and China. This religion had a powerful hold on the Kashmirians throughout the Hindu rule over the valley.

Buddhism spread in Kashmir no doubt, and, to some extent, threw into background the indigenous faiths. But, side by side with this religion, the Brahmanical religion also flourished in the valley. Kashmirian Śaivism, which might have made its way from the Indus Valley or developed out of the Rudra-Śiva concept of the Vedic period, perhaps, dates back to a period remoter than the introduction of Buddhism. Of the existence of Śaivism in the pre-Aśokan days there is literary record. It has been widely prevalent through ages claiming many kings amongst its followers. Countless shrines in honour of Śiva were erected not only by Hindus but also by some Buddhists, e. g. by Aśoka himself. The history of Kashmir Śaivism is, however, a

chequered one. In the early period it belonged to the Pāśupata sect. Based on Tantras, it propounded dualism. It took a new garb in about the eighth century when, in pursuance of the Advaita system, it began to preach idealistic monisn. The works, on which the new system was based, passed current as Trika Śāstra subdividing itself into three branches, viz. Āgama-śāstra Spanda-śāstra and Pratyabhijñā-śāstra. The Āgama-śāstra comprised a number of such old Tantras as *Mālinīvijaya*, *Sudra-yāmala* etc. The Trika system was considerably developed, and received a clearer exposition in the Spanda-śāstra or *Spanda-kārikās* probably written by Kallaṭa of the ninth century. One Somānanda was responsible for the Pratyabhijñā-śāstra. It was his business to uphold Śaivism by systematic and critical argumentation. Somānanda's treatise was a need of the hour, because Buddhism was now a powerful force and it had to be combatted. The highly philosophical Trika system, with its abstruse literature, failed necessarily to appeal to the masses. The result was that, while it was confined to the intellectual class, the lower class clung to the more popular Pāśupata Śaivism.

Side by side with Śiva, Viṣṇu was also widely worshipped. It is difficult to assert when Vaiṣṇavism first made its appearance in Kashmir, but of its existence in a developed form since the sixth century A. D. there is no doubt. Numerous images of Viṣṇu were consecrated, and temples built in honour of him. Besides the masses, many members of the successive royal dynasties also became devotees of this deity. Kashmirian Vaiṣṇavism combined in itself the elements of the Vedic Viṣṇu, the Pāñcarātra sect, the faith of the Sātvats and devotion to Gopāla Kṛṣṇa.

Śiva and Viṣṇu were not the only deities worshipped in Kashmir, The people of the valley believed in, and worshipped, also some other deities of the Indian pantheon, e. g. Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Durgā etc. Sculptural remains and literary evidence testify to the prevalence of the worship of these deities as well as some others

including Kāmadeva or the god of Love. The worship of Śakti in various forms like Durgā, Śāradā etc. has been proved. The discovery of images of Sapta Mātṛkās (seven mothers) is an incontrovertible evidence of the prevalence of the Śākta cult.

such as Cimadeva, the god of Love. The worship of Sakti in ancient forms like Durga, Kali, etc. has been [illegible]. The discovery of images of Sapta Matrikas [illegible] makes it [illegible] evidence of the [illegible] of the [illegible] cult.

PART II

KASHMIR'S CONTRIBUTION TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

CHAPTER IV

Poetics and Dramaturgy

The early Vedic Indians, like the people of many other ancient lands, preferred poetry to prose as the medium of expressing their thoughts. Figures of speech and sentiments of various kinds constitute the very life-blood of poetry. This can be said in a general way without entering into the niceties of academic discussions about the soul (*ātmā*) of Kāvya. The Ṛgvedic hymns contain figures of speech like Upamā (simile), Rūpaka (metaphor) etc. and sentiments like the erotic pervade many of them. The hymns, for aught we know, were the spontaneous outpourings of the Vedic Ṛṣi (seer) who was, therefore, unconscious of the figures of speech and Rasas employed in the hymns. The conscious employment of these poetic devices presumably took a long time. The beginnings of poetics as a discipline are shrouded in obscurity. To Kashmir, however, belongs the credit of systematising the ideas of poetics into a coherent form. In the present state of our knowledge, we can safely make this assertion in view of the fact that, of the writers on poetics known hitherto, the Kashmirian Bhāmaha is the earliest.

It is noteworthy that all the schools of poetics, viz. Alaṅkāra, Rīti, Rasa and Dhvani, originated and developed in Kashmir. It was the scholars of Kashmir again who propounded different theories of Rasa by independent exposition of the celebrated Rasa-sūtra of Bharata. It is a matter of no mean credit that Kashmir was not only the cradle of the schools of poetics, but it also nurtured generations of poeticians through four centuries or more. The valley saw the different systems in their formative, creative, definitive and scholastic stages. No evidence is available to us for determining the date of Bhāmaha with absolute certainty. The testimony of Pratihārendurāja and Abhinava-

gupta is clear that Udbhaṭa wrote a commentary[1] on Bhāmaha's work. In Udbhaṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra-saṃgraha* there are evidences of borrowing from Bhāmaha's rhetorical work. The rhetorician Vāmana also appears to have been acquainted with Bhāmaha's text. Udbhaṭa and Vāmana flourished in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. which, therefore, is the lower limit to the date of Bhāmaha.

The upper terminus of his date is more difficult to determine. The mention of *Nyāsakāra* in Bhāmaha (vi. 36) leads some scholars to suppose that Bhāmaha was later than Jinendrabuddhi, author of the *Nyāsa*, an exposition of the Kāśikā commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Even if this conjecture is correct, it does not help us materially, because the date of Jinendrabuddhi himself is controversial. While some scholars believe that he lived about 700 A.D., others would place him later than 878 A.D.

The supposed reference, in Bhāmaha's work (i. 42), to the *Megha-dūta* is of no consequence in this respect. Kālidāsa is placed at different times from the first century B.C. to the fifth century A.D.—a space of five hundred years! In chapter v, Bhāmaha appears to have utilised some philosophical doctrines of the Buddhist philosopher, Dharmakīrti, who is believed to have lived in the middle of the seventh century A.D.

From the foregoing evidences Bhāmaha may, perhaps, be placed between the last quarter of the seventh century and the middle of the eighth.

The question of the chronological relationship between Bhāmaha and Bhaṭṭi, author of the *Rāvaṇa-vadha*, popularly known as *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, is difficult. Some scholars believe that the *Prasanna-kāṇḍa* of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* was designed to illustrate the figures of speech dealt with by Bhāmaha. But, the date of Bhaṭṭi himself has not yet been fixed with certainty. Bhaṭṭi mentions Śrīdharasena as his patron. The fact of the existence of four persons of this name makes it

1. Called *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa* which is now lost.

difficult to associate Bhaṭṭi with the right person. Again, Bhāmaha's couplet in ii. 20 appears to be a dig at Bhaṭṭi's boastful reference[1] to his pedantry. A comparison of Bhāmaha's poetic figures with the *alaṅkāras* illustrated by Bhaṭṭi, while revealing close resemblance, betrays some discrepancies too. The conclusion seems reasonable that both Bhaṭṭi and Bhāmaha used independent sources which had close correspondence with one another and also minor differences.

Of Bhāmaha's personal history[2] we know nothing excepting the fact, as he himself states, that he was the son of Rakrilagomin.

Bhāmaha's work, called *Kāvyālaṅkāra* or *Bhāmahālaṅkāra*[3], consists of six Paricchedas or chapters and about 400 verses. The contents of the chapters are : I Object, definition and classification of Kāvya, reference to the Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī modes of composition, some blemishes of Kāvya ; II-III. The three Guṇas of Mādhurya, Prasāda, Ojas and Alaṅkāras ; IV Eleven blemishes with illustrations ; V Eleven blemishes arising from a faulty Pratijñā, Hetu or Dṛṣṭānta ; IV Grammatical correctness of words used in Kāvya.

The object of Kāvya, according to Bhāmaha, is chiefly twofold, viz. acquisition of fame on the part of the poet and delight for the reader. Like most other theorists Bhāmaha deals with the equipment of a poet or the qualities that are necessary for the making of a poet. The first essential is genius. Coupled with this is the knowledge of various arts and sciences. While defining Kāvya, Bhāmaha

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1. *vyākhyāgamyam idaṃ kāvyam utsavaḥ sudhiyām alam* ।
hatā durmedhasaś cāsmin vidvat-priyatayā mayā ॥

2. It should be noted that, though Bhāmaha is generally supposed to have been a Kashmirian, some scholars are inclined to keep the question of his homeland open in the absence of definite evidence.

3. Ed, (i) Trivedi, Bombay Skt. Series, 1909.
(ii) Naganatha Sastry (with Eng. tr and notes), Tanjore, 1927.
(iii) Sarma and Upadhyaya, Chowkhamba, Benares, 1928,

says—*śabdārthau sahitau kāvyam* ; word and sense together constitute Kāvya. This definition obviously takes cognisance of the external element or the body of Kāvya, and is silent about its innermost element or its soul. From his treatment of the subject it is implied that word and sense in order to rank as Kāvya must be free from blemishes *(nirdoṣa)* and embellished with poetic figures *(sālaṅkāra)*. On poetic figures Bhāmaha lays the greatest stress. In his opinion, a literary composition, however laudable, does not become attractive if it is devoid of embellishments. He gives a happy analogy by saying that the face of a beloved woman, though lovely, does not look radiant without ornaments.[1] *Alaṅkāra* is, according to him, indispensable for a composition to merit the designation of Kāvya. Bhāmaha is, therefore, the earliest exponent, if not the founder, of the Alaṅkāra school of Sanskrit Poetics. Even so, he ignores the *ātmā* (soul) of poetry of which later rhetoricians make so much ; because *alaṅkāras* are nothing but extraneous elements like ornaments to human beings.

In Bhāmaha's work we get a fourfold classification of Kāvya. A Kāvya may be in prose or verse. It may be written in Sanskrit, Prākrit or Apabhraṃśa. The subject-matter of a Kāvya may be human or divine ; it may be imaginary or based on the various arts and sciences. Coming to the conventional classification, he divides Kāvya into the following classes : *Sargabandha mahākāvya* (an epic poem in cantos), *Abhineyārtha* (drama), *Ākhyāyikā* (a historical narrative), *Kathā* (romantic tale) and *Anibaddha kāvya* (detached verses).

Unlike the advocates of the Rīti school, Bhāmaha does not attach much importance to Rīti or mode of composition ; because, in his opinion, the distinction between the Vaidarbhī and the Gauḍī Rīti is of no consequence. This attitude to Rīti perhaps accounts for his comparative indifference to

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1. Cf. *na kāntam api nirbhūṣaṃ vibhāti vanitā-mukham*
—Kāvyālaṅkāra, I. 13.

Guṇas of which he mentions only *Mādhurya*, *Ojas* and *Prasāda*.

It is the subject of Alaṅkāras that receives the most detailed treatment at the hands of Bhāmaha, and it is quite in the fitness of things because he considers Alaṅkāra to be the essential element of Kāvya. It should be added that, of the Alaṅkāras, Bhāmaha thinks that *Vakrokti* is an essential principle. *Vakrokti* of Bhāmaha is strikingness or charm of expression and not a particular poetic figure as we find it in later rhetorical works. It is interesting to note that Bhāmaha was not ignorant or incognisant of Rasa in Kāvya; indeed he mentions a poetic figure called *Rasavat* (lit. that which possesses Rasa). The suggested sense (*vyaṅgyārtha*), which is at the root of Rasa, is implicit in the *vakrokti* of Bhāmaha so that the germs of the later Rasa or Dhvani school of poetics are there in Bhāmaha's work of so remote an antiquity.

The next Kashmirian poetician of note is Udbhaṭa. Apart from his typically Kashmirian name, he is stated by Kalhaṇa to have adorned the court of king Jayāpīḍa (C. 779-813 A.D) of Kashmir. Ānandavardhana, in the middle of the 9th century, mentions Udbhaṭa. Thus, Udbhaṭa may be placed in the period between the close of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th.

Besides the lost *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa* (also called *Kāvyālaṅkāravivṛti*), a commentary on Bhāmaha's work, Udbhaṭa appears, on the testimony of Pratihārendurāja, to have composed a poem entitled *Kumārasambhava* which is no longer extant. Udbhaṭa probably wrote also a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*.

Udbhaṭa's fame, however, rests on his *Kāvyālaṅkāra-saṃgraha*[1]. It is written in six Vargas or chapters. This work has two commentaries, viz. one by Pratihārendurāja and the other by an unknown author. Rājānaka Tilaka,

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1. Ed. (i) Jacob in JRAS, 1897.
(ii) Telang, NSP, 1905, 1915.
(iii) Banhatti, Bombay Skt. Series, 1925.

who was probably father of Ruyyaka, is mentioned by Jayaratha, in his commentary on Ruyyaka's *Alaṅkāra-sarvasva*, as author of an *Udbhaṭa-viveka* or *Udbhaṭa-vicāra*.

From the extant work of Udbhaṭa, which is only a short treatise on poetic figures, it is difficult to ascertain his views on the general principles, e.g. the essential constituent of Kāvya and such other questions. In his brief work Udbhaṭa follows Bhāmaha in the number and even order of the poetic figures. Bhāmaha's definitions of some of the figures have been taken verbatim by Udbhaṭa. Udbhaṭa's originality, however, lies in the analysis and distinctions of the different *alaṅkāras*. For example, whereas Bhāmaha mentions one kind of *atiśayokti* Udbhaṭa distinguishes four varieties of it. In place of Bhāmaha's two forms of *anuprāsa*, Udbhaṭa gives four. In connexion with the varieties of *anuprāsa*, Udbhaṭa for the first time recognises three different *Vṛttis* or modes of expression. In Udbhaṭa's work again, we find a clear statement of the grammatical basis of the divisions of Upamā according as the idea of resemblance is expressed by suffixes like-*vat*,-*kyac*,-*kalpap* etc. A comparison of the characterisation of the poetic figures by Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa reveals also the fact that the latter differs from the former on some minor points. What is most noteworthy is that Udbhaṭa's notion of Rasa is more developed than that of his predecessor, so much so that he even uses the terms *bhāva* and *anubhāva* which are the elements that give rise to Rasa. Thus by his advanced ideas and critical analysis he threw Bhāmaha into background ; later theorists recognise Udbhaṭa as the highest authority, and follow in his footsteps in matters relating to poetic figures. The seeds of the *Alaṅkāra* doctrine, which we find in Bhāmaha's work, grow into a flowering tree in that of his successor.

Mukula is the author of the short work entitled *Abhidhā-vṛttimātṛkā*[1]. In fifteen Kārikās, with Vṛtti on them, he discusses the functions of words called Abhidhā (denotation)

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1. Ed. Telang, NSP, Bombay, 1916.

and Lakṣaṇā (indication) from the grammatical and rhetorical standpoints. We learn from the concluding verse of this work that Mukula was the son of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa who, Kalhaṇa informs us, lived during the reign of Avantivarman of Kashmir (855-884 A.D.)

With Vāmana we reach a towering personality in the realm of Sanskrit poetics. Vāmana's quotations from Bhavabhūti's works fix the upper limit of his date at the first quarter of the 8th. century when Bhavabhūti is known to have flourished. The lower limit is suggested by Rājaśekhara's (9th-10th century) quotation from Vāmana's work. According to Kalhaṇa (R. T. IV. 497), Vāmana was a minister of king Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (779-813 A.D.).

The *Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti*[1] of Vāmana consists of aphorisms and a commentary called *Kavi-priyā* thereon. Both the text and the commentary appear to have been written by Vāmana who says that some of the illustrative verses are taken from others. Of the commentaries on this work, the *Kāmadhenu* by Gopendra Bhūpāla is the most well-known.

The *Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti* is divided into five sections (*adhikaraṇa*) each of which consists of some chapters (*adhyāya*). The titles of the Adhikaraṇas are in order : Śārīra, Doṣa-darśana, Guṇavivecana, Ālaṅkārika and Prāyogika. The titles of the Adhikaraṇas hint at their contents.

In consonance with the views of his predecessors, Vāmana holds that the body of Kāvya is constituted by word and sense. It is in the conception of the soul of Kāvya that he clearly expresses an independent view. None of his predecessors is explicit on the point. For the first time, Vāmana declares *rītir-ātmā kāvyasya*, i.e. Rīti is the soul of Kāvya. 'Rīti' is not a new concept with Vāmana, but the idea of its constituting the soul of Kāvya is his contribution to poetical speculations. Rīti, according to him, is *Viśiṣṭā*

1. Of the many editions of this work, mention may be made of those by Durgaprasad and Parab, N.S.P., Bombay, 1880, 1889 ; Benares Sanskrit Series, 1908 ; Kulkarni, Poona, 1927.

pada-racanā or a particular arrangement of words. Of Rītis he distinguishes three varieties, viz. Gauḍī, Vaidarbhī and Pāñcālī which obviously took their names from the regions in which they originated and had been standardised in the period preceding Vāmana. Rīti is closely associated with Guṇas or qualities. According to Vāmana, Vaidarbhī, the Rīti par excellence, possesses all the ten conventional Guṇas ; to Gauḍī belong *Ojas* and *Kānti* and the Pāñcālī has *Mādhurya* and *Saukumārya*. As Rīti, according to Vāmana, is the essence of Kāvya so Guṇas are the essential elements of the Rīti. Vāmana's idea of Rīti as the life-force of Kāvya naturally led him to relegate the *alaṅkāras* to a subservient position. In his opinion, a Kāvya cannot be so called without Guṇas which underlie Rītis, but it can be so without *alaṅkāras* which, therefore, are extraneous elements. His remark *kāvyaṃ grāhyam alaṅkārāt* may, at first sight, seem contradictory to what we have just said about his attitude to *alaṅkāras*. But, the immediately following words clarify his position. He says *saundaryam alaṅkāraḥ*, i. e. the charm or beauty is *alaṅkāra* ; this makes it clear that it is the charm of expression, but not *alaṅkāra* in its technical sense of poetic figure, that imparts the status of Kāvya to a literary composition. Vāmana, for the first time, makes a clear distinction between *śabda-guṇas* (verbal qualities) and *artha-guṇas* (ideal qualities). While accepting the ten traditional Guṇas, Vāmana brings out the meaning of each as applied to *śabda* and *artha*. For example, Prasāda as a *śabda-guṇa*, according to him, means looseness (*s'aithilya*) of structure ; as an *artha-guṇa* it means propriety of sense.

Coming to Rasa we find that his idea about it is more advanced than that of his predecessors. While the writers preceding him recognise Rasa as an element of a certain poetic figure, Vāmana takes it as a constituent of *Kānti* which is an *artha-guṇa*, and, as such, an essential element of Kāvya written in particular Rītis.

Rudraṭa bears a typically Kashmirian name. His date cannot be ascertained with certainty. The mention of

Rudraṭa or reference to his text or views by Rājaśekhara and Vallabhadeva fixes the lower terminus of Rudraṭa's date at the end of the ninth century or beginning of the tenth. Rudraṭa's treatment of *Vakrokti* as a poetic figure, rather than as strikingness of expression underlying all poetic figures or as the collective name of almost all poetic figures or as a metaphorical expression based on transferred sense, makes it probable that he was later than Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana. Coupled with this fact the absence of any indication of Ānandavardhana's acquaintance with his work tends to establish that Rudraṭa flourished between the first quarter of the ninth century and its close.

From V. 12—14 of the *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, as interpreted by Namisādhu, Rudraṭa, also called Śatānanda, appears to have been son of Bhaṭṭa Vāmukha. Rudraṭa is sometimes identified, on no more convincing ground than the similarity of names, with Rudra or Rudrabhaṭṭa, author of the *Śṛngāratilaka*.

The *Kāvyālaṅkāra*[1] of Rudraṭa is written in sixteen chapters (*adhyāyas*) and has been commented upon by Vallabhadeva, Namisādhu and Āśādhara.

As the title of his work suggests, Rudraṭa lays the greatest stress on *alaṅkāra* as the principal element in Kāvya. Indeed, he devotes the bulk of his work to this topic. In comparison with his predecessors he mentions more poetic figures and a larger number of the sub-divisions of many of them. For the first time he clearly distinguishes between figures of words (*śabdālaṅkāra*) and figures of sense (*arthālaṅkāra*). Rudraṭa no doubt mentions Rasas which find a fairly lengthy treatment in his work : but the Rasas are still considered as extrinsic elements. He mentions as many as four Rītis, viz. *Pāñcalī*, *Lāṭīyā*, *Gauḍīyā* and *Vaidarbhi*, but these do not, in his opinion, dominate Kāvya. He does not mention *Dhvani*, although he makes the suggested sense an accessory to the expressed one in some poetic figures.

The work of Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana stand as a

1 Ed. Durgaprasad and Parab, NSP, 1909 (2nd ed.)

prominent landmark in the literature of Indian poetics. The *Dhvanyāloka*[1], also called *Kāvyāloka* or *Sahṛdayāloka*, is the last great monument to the sound judgment and critical scholarship of the Kashmirian school of poeticians. It was succeeded by learned works produced in Kashmir, but none surpassed it in the original and systematic treatment of the subject.

The *Dhvanyāloka* consists of two parts, the text and its running commentary with illustrations. A keen controversy has been raging on the question as to whether or not the text (*Kārikās*) and the commentary (*vṛtti*) of this work were written by one and the same person, i. e. Ānandavardhana who is known to have composed the *Vṛtti*. We have the authority of Abhinavagupta and Mammaṭa for the assumption that the authors of the two portions were different persons. But, the name of the author of the *Kārikās* is not known so that he is generally referred to as Dhvanikṛt or Dhvanikāra which appellation is sometimes used to refer to Ānandavardhana also, Some scholars have suggested that the author of the *Kārikās* was named Sahṛdaya, but they have not succeeded in adducing conclusive evidence in support of their contention. We have no means of determining the date of Dhvanikāra or the region to which he belonged. Ānandavardhana, however, is known to have been a Kashmirian who is assigned to the middle of the ninth century on the authority of Kalhaṇa who states (R. T. V. 34) that this great poetician adorned the court of King Avantivarman (855-84 A. D.) of Kashmir. This date is corroborated by Rājaśekhara (9th-10th century) who clearly cites him by name in the *Kavya-mīmāṃsā*. From the colophon to chapter III of the *Dhvanyāloka* Ānandavardhana's father appears to have been known as Nonopādhyāya. Ānandavardhana appears to have composed the following works too :—

1. Of the many editions, the following are noteworthy :—
   (i) Ed. Durgaprasad & Parab, N. S. P., Bombay, 1890,
   (ii) Ed, Kuppuswami Sastri, Ist Uddyota, Madras, 1944.
   (iii) Text, with *Locana*, translated into Bengali by Sen and Bhattacarya, Calcutta,

Devī-śataka, *Viṣamabāṇa-līlā*, *Arjuna-carita*, *Dharmottamā*, *Mata-parīkṣā*, *Tattvāloka* and *Hari-vijaya*. Of these, the *Devī-śataka*, a lyric on Pārvatī, exists while the others are referred to either by Ānandavardhana himself or by later writers. The *Viṣamabāṇa-līlā* appears to be a Prākrit poem which, judging from the title, perhaps dealt with an erotic theme. The *Arjuna-carita* was a Mahākāvya in Sanskrit. The *Dharmottamā* was a commentary on the *Pramāṇa-viniścaya* of Dharmakīrti. The *Tattvāloka* is stated by Abhinavagupta, in his *Locana*, to have discussed, *inter alia*, the relation between *Kāvya-naya* (method of instruction in Kāvya) and *Śāstra-naya* (method of instruction in scriptures) ; the former, according to writers on poetics, is Kāntā-sammita (like the wife) and the latter *Prabhu-sammita* (like the master). The *Hari-vijaya* was a Prākrit poem.

In assessing the contribution of Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana we must bear in mind that the Dhvanikāra (lit. the maker of Dhvani) was not the founder of the concept of Dhvani. This is evident from the very first Kārikā of the *Dhvanyāloka* ; it mentions a tradition (*samāmnāta-pūrva*) of this concept. Thus, it appears that long before the author of the Kārikās, the concept of Dhvani as the essence of Kāvya not only originated, but also enlisted a considerable number of adherents. It was the work of the Dhvanikāra to systematise, perhaps for the first time, the speculations of this school and to present them in the orderly manner of memorial verses. The *Kārikās* being mnemonic naturally left much to be cleared up by an exposition, It was Ānandavardhana's task to write such an exposition, and to set the seal of his erudition and authority in establishing the doctrine of this school.

We may now proceed briefly to take stock of the contribution made by the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana to poetical speculations. The object of the *Dhvanyāloka* is twofold, viz. (1) to establish, by arguments and counter-arguments, that *dhvani* or suggested sense is the 'soul' or essence of Kāvya (*dhvanir-ātmā kāvyasya*) ; (2) to examine

the existing ideas of Rasa, Alaṅkāra, Rīti, Guṇa and Doṣa with a view to correlating them to the Dhvani doctrine propounded in it.

In trying to establish their standpoint the Dhvani-theorists had to combat three antagonistic schools, viz. (1) the school that totally denied the existence of the suggested sense in Kāvya ; (2) the school that recognised it not as an entity conveyed by words but as something that can be comprehended by the connoisseur (*sahṛdaya*) ; (3) the school that recognised the suggested sense, but believed that it was conveyed by the already accepted word-functions of Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā,, Tātparya or by Anumāna and not by Vyañjanā as the Dhvani theorists would have us believe. After establishing the existence of suggested sense and of the word-function called Vyañjanā conveying it, the *Dhvanyāloka* proceeds to classify Kāvyas in relation to Dhvani. According to it, Kāvyas are divided into three classes, viz.

(i) Dhvani-kāvya—in it the suggested sense (*vyaṅgyārtha*) predominates over the expressed sense (*vācyārtha*) ; this is Kāvya par excellence.

(ii) Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya-kāvya—in it the suggested sense is subordinated (*guṇībhūta*) to the expressed one.

(iii) Citra-kāvya—in it, the worst of Kāvyas, there is no suggested sense at all, and there is either Śabda-citra (pictorial words) or Artha-citra (pictorial sense).

These three broad classes of Kāvya have again been divided and subdivided with great minuteness. The subdivisions of suggestive Kāvya reach the stupendous number of five thousand, three hundred and fifty-five ! In this connexion, it may be added that the Dhvani or suggested sense may be threefold ; it may suggest a matter or idea (*vastu*), a poetic figure (*alaṅkāra*) or a feeling or mood (*rasa*).

From what we have said it is clear that the *Dhvanyāloka* recognises Rasa, but not as an entity divorced from Dhvani. Similarly, the other recognised concepts of Rīti, Guṇa, Doṣa

and Alaṅkāra are accepted in so far as they are related to Dhvani. Rīti is recognised not as an independent factor, but only in so far as it suggests Rasa. The characteristics of Rītis are not dealt with by Ānandavardhana because, as Abhinavagupta points out, Rītis ultimately merge into Guṇas. The Dhvani-theorists recognise Guṇas as helping the development of Rasa, and accept only three Guṇas instead of the conventional ten. These three are *Mādhurya* (sweetness), *Ojas* (energy) and *Prasāda* (perspecuity). The Doṣas or blemishes are recognised by them in so far as they detract from the Rasa. The Dhvani-theorists do recognise the importance of Alaṅkāra in a Kāvya, but they would not regard it as a distinct entity. Alaṅkāra is necessary to embellish the principal element, mostly the Rasa, in a Kāvya. But, an *alaṅkāra* for its own sake is relegated by these theorists to an inferior position. A literary composition having an *alaṅkāra*, but no suggested sense, is not a Kāvya properly so called but its counterfeit.

This in brief is the contribution of the Dhvani school to the poetical speculations. The treatment of the subject by the writers of this school was so logical and thorough that it survived through centuries influencing the later writers of this school and throwing the antagonists into the background.

One cannot think of the *Dhvanyāloka* without its celebrated commentary called *Kāvyāloka-locana*[1] or simply *Locana* written by Abhinavagupta. He tells us, in his *Parātriṃśikā-vivaraṇa*, that he was son of the Kāśmīraka Cukhala, grandson of Varāhagupta and brother of Manorathagupta. From the dates of composition, stated by himself in some of his works, we can assign him to a period between the last quarter of the tenth century and first quarter of the eleventh. Abhinavagupta was a profound scholar and a prolific writer. Besides the *Locana*, he composed also an authoritative com-

1. It has been printed several times. Mention may be made of the Kāvyamālā ed., 1890, 1911 (first three Uddyotas) and of the edition of the fourth Uddyota by S. K. De in Calcutta University's *Journal of the Deptt. of Letters*, 1923.

mentay called *Abhinavabhāratī* on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*. In his *Locana*, he refers to his commentary, now lost, on the *Kāvya-kautuka* of Bhaṭṭa Tauta who was his Guru. A commentary on the *Ghaṭakarpara-kāvya*, called *Ghaṭakarpara-vivṛti*, is attributed to Abhinava. This commentary is interesting from the point of view of literary history ; it supports the tradition that the Kāvya, on which it comments, was from the pen of Kālidāsa. Abhinava was not a mere commentator. His several philosophical works[1] have immortalised him in the domain of Kashmir Śaivism.

Much of the popularity of the *Dhvanyāloka* is accounted for by its masterly exposition by Abhinavagupta. The most striking feature of the exposition is that in it Abhinavagupta carries the idea of Rasa to its logical conclusion. In the *Dhvanyāloka* Rasa is recognised in relation to Dhvani as Alaṅkāra and Vastu are also recognised in relation to this concept. But, Abhinavagupta unequivocally declared that Rasa was really the soul of Kāvya and that Vastu-dhvani, in the final analysis, merged into Rasa-dhvani.[2] The emphasis, laid by Abhinavagupta on the element of Rasa in Kāvya, earned the acceptance of his views by the later writers.

In this connexion, mention should be made of the contribution of Abhinavagupta to the interpretation of the basic concept of Rasa, propounded by Bharata. Before doing so we shall examine the views of the predecessors of Abhinava in this matter. In explaining the process by which Rasa comes into being in a drama, Bharata declares :

vibhāvānubhāva-vyabhicāri-saṃyogād rasa-niṣpattiḥ.

This means that Rasa originates out of a combination of *Vibhāvas* (excitants), *anubhāvas* (ensuants) and *Vyabhicāri-bhāvas* (accessory feelings) with the *sthāyi-bhāva* (permanent feeling). The word *niṣpatti* in Bharata's formula touched off a keen controversy as to its real significance.

1. See Chapter VI.

2. *cf. rasa eva vastuta ātmā. vastva-laṅkāra-dhvanī tu sarvathā rasaṃ prati paryavasyete.*

Abhinavgupta refers to the view of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka on the above Rasa-sūtra of Bharata. From the testimony of Mahimabhaṭṭa and others Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka appears to have been the author of a work entitled *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* which is lost. It appears to have been a metrical treatise with a running prose commentary. From Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's supposed familiarity with the Dhvani theory he may be assigned to a period later than Ānandavardhana who flourished about the middle of the ninth century A.D. Abhinavagupta is the earliest writer to mention Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who, therefore, cannot be later than the first quarter of the eleventh century. The above limits of his date accord well with the evidence of the RT. (V. 159) to the effect that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka flourished during the reign of Śaṅkaravarman (883-902 A.D.), son and successor of Avantivarman, king of Kashmir. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's theory of Rasa, as explained by Abhinava and Mammaṭa, is known as Bhukti-vāda. It means that Rasa is enjoyed with reference to *vibhāvas* (excitants) through the relation of the enjoyer and the enjoyed.

In his commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*, Abhinavagupta refers to one Lollaṭa and his views on certain topics of Dramaturgy. From this fact we may suppose that Lollaṭa also wrote a commentary on Bharata's work. The name of Lollaṭa is typically Kashmirian. As he is mentioned as rejecting Udbhaṭa's views on certain matters he must have been either his contemporary or a later writer ; Udbhaṭa cannot be later than 813 A.D. Lollaṭa's theory *(Utpattivāda)* on Rasa has beed mentioned by Mammaṭa in his *Kāvyaprakāśa*. According to this theory, *vibhāvas* or excitants are the direct cause *(kāraṇa)* of Rasa which is, therefore, an effect (*kārya*).

Abhinavagupta and some other writers refer to Śaṅkuka as an authoritative commentator of Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*. In fact, Abhinava often refers to Śaṅkuka's opinion on various topics of Dramaturgy. By the time of Mammaṭa, Śaṅkuka's theory (*Anumitivāda*) of Rasa being *inferred* must have been recognised widely enough to merit a reference in

the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. This Śaṅkuka is generally supposed to be identical with the poet of the same name whose verses are quoted in the anthologies of Śārṅgadhara, Jalhaṇa and Vallabhadeva. The poet is perhaps to be identified with Śaṅkuka who is mentioned in the R.T. (IV. 703-5) as author of the poem called *Bhuvanābhyudaya* which is said to have centred round the fierce fight between the regents Mamma and Utpalaka; the incident referring to the reign of the Kashmirian king Ajitāpīḍa of the first quarter of the ninth century A.D. This poem has not yet been discovered.

Abhinava proposed a novel interpretation of the word 'niṣpatti' in Bharata's aforesaid dictum. His theory is known as Abhivyaktivāda in which he lays down that Rasa is not an effect, and it is neither enjoyed nor inferred, but it is manifested.

The interpretations, suggested by these scholars, had a tremendous significance in view of the fact that Bharata's Nāṭyarasa came to be adopted by later theorists as Kāvya-rasa.

Kuntaka, author of the *Vakroktijīvita*, and hence better known as Vakrokti-jīvita-kāra, was in all probability a Kashmirian; he had the title Rājānaka which is used with the names of Kashmirian scholars. Kuntaka's quotation from Rājaśekhara, the dramatist, and Mahimabhaṭṭa's reference to Kuntaka and his work make it likely that he flourished in a period between the middle of the tenth century and the middle of the eleventh. Abhinavagupta's silence about Kuntaka, whose work acquired considerable prominence, may be explained by conjecturing that both these writers were contemporaneous.

The entire work of Kuntaka has not yet been recovered. From the incomplete Ms., on the basis of which editions[1] have been prepared, it appears that Kuntaka tries to establish Vakrokti as the soul or essential element of Kāvya. In this respect the *Vakroktijīvita* is unique in the whole range of the literature on poetics. Kuntaka's idea of Vakrokti as the soul

1. Vide third revised edition by S. K De, Calcutta, 1961.

of poetry has been derived from Bhāmaha who took it in the sense of peculiar charm. Kuntaka analyses also a poetical figure on the basis of Vakrokti, and it has been accepted by later writers.

It is interesting to note that Kuntaka takes into cosideration all the earlier speculations with regard to the soul of Kāvya, but makes Rasa, Alaṅkāra, Rīti and Dhvani subservient to Vakrokti. In the general name of Vakrokti are included Rasa and Dhvani ; Rasa or Dhvani makes a composition enjoyable by imparting a peculiar charm to it. Alaṅkāra heightens the beauty of a composition in so far as it contributes to the peculiar charm in it. Rīti, for which Kuntaka uses the term Mārga, is not, as earlier theorists thought, a regional characteristic of a literary composition ; it is a diction which owes its existence to the genius and skill of thc poet, and, as such, various Rītis should be differentiated with reference to the poet's Śakti (capacity), Vyutpatti (proficiency) and Abhyāsa (practice). Rītis, according to him, may be threefold :—(i) Sukumāra, (ii) Vicitra and (iii) Madhyama. Each of the first two Rītis has certain Guṇas or excellences ; the third Rīti combines the excellences of both. According to him, Aucitya (propriety of words and ideas) and Saubhāgya are common to all the three Mārgas. By Saubhāghya is meant 'the realisation of all the resources of a composition'. Indeed his Vakrokti is *vaidagdhya-bhaṅgī-bhaṇiti*, that is to say, it is a peculiar expression by one who is *Vidagdha*, i.e. not merely learned but versed in *belles-lettres*.

Kṣemendra Vyāsadāsa, whose identity with Kṣemarāja, author of works on Śaiva philosophy, is advocated by some without conclusive evidence, is a prominent figure in the history not only of poetics but also of Sanskrit literature as a whole. Endowed with a master mind he had a variety of interests, and wrote quite a number of treatises on diverse subjects. He is truly described as a polymath. Happily for us, he gives an account of his personal history, and records the dates of the composition of some of his works. Son of Prakāśendra and grandson of Sindhu, he was a disciple of one

Gaṅgaka. Father of Somendra, he was preceptor of Udayasiṃha and prince Lakṣaṇāditya. Kṣemendra wrote his works in the reign of the Kashimirian king Ananta and his son Kalaśa ; as such, he may be assigned to the second and third quarters of the eleventh century A.D.

His works on poetics are two, viz. the *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā*[1] and the *Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*[2]. A *Kavi-karṇikā* by the author is referred to by himself in his *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā* (verse 2).

The *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā* of Kṣemendra is a unique work in the sense that it deals with the question of Aucitya or propriety in Kāvya most exhaustively, and declares it as the very soul (*jīvita-bhūta*) of Kāvya. Aucitya, in his opinion, relates to twenty-seven items, viz. word, sentence, sense of the composition, literary excellences (*guṇas*), poetic figures, employment of grammatical matters like verb, preposition, etc., time, place and so on. What renders his work more valuable is the collection of verses culled from a wide range of classical Sanskrit literature. Some of these verses are given as conforming to Aucitya while others are examples of compositions devoid of it. Kṣemendra follows in the footsteps of Ānandavardhana who holds Aucitya as the highest secret (*parā upaniṣat*) of Rasa. The idea of Aucitya, anticipated by Bharata in connexion with dramaturgy, and explicitly dealt with by writers of the Dhvani school and discussed by most post-Dhvani writers in connexion with Rasa-doṣa, found the strongest exponent in Kṣemendra. He considers it to be founded on the aesthetic pleasure (*camatkāra*) that underlies the delectation of Rasa. No Guṇa or Alaṅkāra, devoid of Aucitya, has any significance in Kāvya according to Kṣemendra.

In the *Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, Kṣemendra deals with the making of a poet, his defects, the peculiar charm (*camatkāra*)

1. Ed. (i) Kāvyamālā, 1886,
(ii) Madras, 1906,
(iii) Chowkhamba Skt. Series, Benares, 1933.
2. Ed. (i) Kāvyamālā, 1887, 1899.
(ii) Chowkhamba Skt. Series, Benares, 1933.

of a poetical composition, the Guṇas and Doṣas of words, sense and sentiment (*rasa*). There are, according to Kṣemendra, two things that engender in a person the capacity for producing Kāvya. The first one is Divyaprayatna (divine effort) and the second is Pauruṣa or individual effort. Divyaprayatna is the name given to prayer, incantation and the like. In discussing Pauruṣa-prayatna, he states that there are three kinds of persons according as they require little efiort, strenuous effort or as they are incapable of poetic power despite effort. A poet, in his opinion, must possess knowledge of the various arts and sciences a list of which is given by him. The various branches of knowledge inlcude, *inter alia*, Grammar, Logic, Dramaturgy, Erotics, Astronomy etc. While discussing the question of one poet borrowing from another, he mentions different kinds of borrowers or plagiarists. Of them, some borrow an idea, a word or the foot of a verse while others copy an entire composition. He mentions, apparently with approval, the practice of borrowing from sources like the work of Vyāsa. Incidentally Kṣemendra dwells on the training of a poet and the moulding of his life and character. An important part of the work is devoted to a discussion on *camatkāra* or the peculiar charm which is an essential requisite of a poetical composition. *Camatkāra* has been divided into ten varieties in accordance with its nature and substratum. It may be readily comprehensible or realisable after much thought. It may reside in the whole of a composition or in a part of it and belong to *śabda*, *artha* or both, to *alaṅkāra*, *rasa* or may relate to the nature of a famous subject-matter.

Mahimabhaṭṭa, whose title Rājānaka, appears to hint at his Kashmirian origin, tells us that he was son of Śrī Dhairya and disciple of Mahākavi Śyāmala. His work, the *Vyaktiviveka*[1], betrays his familiarity with Ānandavardhana and even Abhinavagupta. He quotes certain views of Kuntaka to criticise them, and quotes from some works of Rājaśekhara. Ruyyaka is the earliest of the later writers to quote and

1. Ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum Skt. Series, 1909.

criticise Mahimabhaṭṭa's views. These evidences would lead us to assign Mahimabhaṭṭa to the close of the eleventh century. In the said work he refers to another work of his, entitled *Tattvokti-kośa*, dealing with *pratibhā-tattva*, which no longer exists. On the *Vyakti-viveka* there is an anonymous commentary generally attributed to Ruyyaka.

The *Vyakti-viveka* is written in three chapters called Vimarśas. The work, as its very title indicates, has as its subject the critical consideration of Vyakti or Vyañjanā, i.e. suggestion in Kāvya, His chief target of attack is the concept of Dhvani. The definition of Dhvani, given in the *Dhvanyāloka*, applies, in his opinion, more fittingly to Anumāna or inference which had already been recognised in poetics.

The importance, attached by him to Anumāna, led him to recognise a twofold sense of the word, viz. *Vācya* (expressed or denoted) and *anumeya* (inferred). The latter includes the *lakṣyārtha* (indicated sense) and the *vyaṅgyārtha* (suggested sense). The *anumeyārtha* is threefold according as it is a matter (*vastu*), a poetic figure (*alaṅkāra*) or a sentiment (*rasa*). Thus, the threefold Dhvani of the earlier theorists has been taken by Mahimabhaṭṭa as the threefold *anumeyārtha*. He differs from the earlier writers in the process by which the expressed sense leads to the unexpressed. He quotes some verses, given by Ānandavardhana as examples of Dhvani, to demonstrate that the unexpressed sense is comprehended not by anything like suggestion but by inference.

Mammaṭa is the last great figure in the galaxy of the poeticians of Kashmir. Those who followed him in this field are not so renowned. His Kashmirian origin is vouchasafed by his title Rājānaka and by his name. Māṇikyacandra's commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* is dated Saṃvat 1216 (1159-60 A.D.) Ruyyaka of the second-third quarters of the twelfth century commented upon the *Kāvyaprakāśa*. The earliest of the extant Mss. of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* appears to have been copied in 1158 A.D. All this makes it probable that Mammaṭa flourished in the beginning of the twelfth century at the latest.

On certain evidences of an inconclusive nature some scholars would make him a contemporary of king Bhoja. Mammaṭa's reference to Bhoja in a verse (under X. 26 of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*) proves his posteriority to that king, but does not give any clue as to his precise date. If this Bhoja was the Paramāra king of the same name of Dhārā, then Mammaṭa may be placed approximately in the last quarter of the eleventh century. This date is made probable by the fact that Mammaṭa mentions Abhinavagupta.

The *Kāvya-prakāśa*[1] is the *magnum opus* of Mammaṭa ; on it rests his fame. His other work is called *Śabda-vyāpāra-paricaya*[2] (or, *Śabda-vyāpāra-vicāra* or *Śabda-vyāpāra-carcā*) in which he discusses the nature of the different functions of words. The *Kāvya-prakāsa* has quite a number of commentaries ; this is a pointer to its immense popularity. Among the commentators Rājānaka Ruyyaka, Someśvara, Rājānaka Ānanda, and Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha were probably Kashmirian.

The *Kāvya-prakāśa* consists of 143 Kārikās with *vṛtti* thereon and illustrative verses. It has ten chapters called Ullāsas. The topics, discussed chapterwise, are :—

I. Object, definition, source and division of Kāvyas.
II. Functions of words.
III. Power of suggestion of all kinds of senses.
IV. Divisions of Dhvani and nature of Rasa.
V. Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya.
VI. Citra-kāvya.
VII. Doṣas.
VIII. Differentiation of Guṇa and Alaṅkāra.
IX. Śabdālaṅkāras.
X. Arthālaṇkāras.

There is a controversy as to whether or not the Kārikās and the Vṛtti of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* are of common author-

1. It has numerous editions some of which are as follows : the ed. by Nathuram, Calcutta, 1829, Mahesh Nyāyaratna, Calcutta, 1866, Jhalakikar, Bombay, 1889, 1901, 1917.

2. Ed. Telang, N.S. Press, Bombay, 1916.

ship. There is a view that the former were composed by Bharata while the latter was the work of Mammaṭa. Some have expressed the view that the Kārikās are the work of Mammaṭa and the Vrtti was written by some other person. It is now proved, on good grounds, that almost the entire work was written by Mammaṭa and that a small portion was composed by one Alaṭa or Alaka.

The reason of Mammaṭa's popularity is that his *Kāvyaprakāśa* combines the merits of completeness and lucidity within a brief compass. A glance at the contents shows that it traverses the entire field of poetics with the exception, of course, of dramaturgy. This work is like a place where all the streams of divergent speculations of the earlier writers have converged. Mammaṭa, while accepting the main thesis of the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana, sums up the other doctrines in an easily intelligible manner. He defines Kāvya in the following words :—

tad adoṣau śabdārthau saguṇāv-analaṅkṛtī punaḥ kvāpi.

Kāvya, according to him, consists of Śabda and Artha which are free from blemishes, possessed of excellences and sometimes devoid of embellishments. This definition reveals that he accepts the time-honoured constituents of Kāvya, *viz.* Śabda and Artha. The qualification *saguṇau* implies the acceptance of Rīti. By *analaṅkṛtī* he admits *alaṅkāras* of Śabda and Artha as necessary attributes for a composition in order to be designated as Kāvya, but denies their essentiality as urged by the writers of the Alaṅkāra school. There is no direct mention, in the definition of Kāvya, of Dhvani and Rasa. But, his threefold classification of Kāvya into Dhvani (that in which the suggested sense predominates over the expressed one), Guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya (that in which the suggested sense is subordinate to the expressed one) and Citra (that which is merely pictorial having no suggested sense at all), clearly demonstrates his acceptance of Dhvani with reference to which Kāvyas have been classified.

Rasa, according to Mammaṭa, is included in his *asaṃlakṣya-kramavyaṅgya* or the suggestion of imperceptible

process. He refere to the different views on Rasa-niṣpatti put forward by Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta, and discards the views of the first three agreeing with Abhinavagupta.

He defines Guṇa and Doṣa in relation to Rasa which he considers as essential in Kāvya. A Guṇa owes its existence in so far as it conduces to the excellence of Rasa. A Doṣa is so called because it detracts from Rasa.

Of Alaṅkāras which, in his opinion, are extraneous to Kāvya as ornaments to human body, he enumerates as many as sixty-seven independent varieties.

Alaṭa or Allaṭa or Rājānaka Alaka, the supposed author of the portion left unfinished by Mammaṭa in his *Kāvyaprakāśā*, was perhaps son of Rājānaka Jayānaka. He commented upon Ruyyaka's commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*.

Judging from the epithet Rājānaka, prefixed to his name, Ānanda, author of the commentary called *Śitikaṇṭhavibodhana* or *Kāvyaprakāśa-nidarśana* on Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*, seems to have been a Kashmirian.

Ruyyaka or Rucaka has the Kashmirian title Rājānaka. He was son of Rājānaka Tilaka, and is supposed to have flourished in the second and third quarters of the 12th. century.

The *Alaṅkāra-sarvasva* of Ruyyaka is his most well-known work. It consists of Sūtras and Vṛtti. Some think that the Vṛtti was written by one Maṅkhuka or Maṅkhaka described as Sāndhivigrahika (minister for peace and war) to a Kashmirian king. According to some, the Sūtras of Ruyyaka were known as *Alaṅkāra-sūtra* while the Vṛtti was entitled *Alaṅkārasarvasva*.

Ruyyaka's work concerns itself with poetie figures which he analyses meticulously, and of which he mentions about eighty independent varieties. He begins with the suggested sense which, he believes, embellishes the expressed meaning which in its turn predominates in the poetic figures. Thus, ultimately the suggested sense falls within the scope of

alaṅkāras. Ruyyaka considers *vicchitti-viśeṣa* (peculiar charm) born of Kavi-pratibhā to be the foundation of Alaṅkāras. In this respect, he appears to have accepted Kuntaka's conception of Vakrokti.

Ruyyaka's prose-poetic work, entitled *Sahṛdaya-līlā*[1], is composed in four chapters called Ullekhas. In the first chapter on Guṇa he describes the ten attractions of a woman, viz. Rūpa, Varṇa, Prabhā and so on. In the second chapter, entitled Alaṅkāra, the author speaks of the ornaments of gold, pearls etc., unguents and flowers used by women, In the third chapter on Jīvita he dwells on youth as the source of feminine charm. In the last chapter, entitled Parikara, Ruyyaka deals with the paraphernalia of beauty.

Ruyyaka appears to have written also the following works on poetics and dramaturgy :—

(1) *Kāvya-prakāśa-saṅketa*—comm. on Mammaṭa's *Kāvya-prakāśa*. This is referred to by Jayaratha and Ratnakaṇṭha.

(2) *Alaṅkāra-mañjarī*—referred to by Ruyyaka himself.

(3) *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā*—it is published.

(4) *Alaṅkārā-nusāriṇī*—mentioned by Jayaratha.

(5) *Vyakti-viveka-vicāra* (or—*vyākhyāna*)—comm. on Mahimabhaṭṭa's *Vyakti-viveka*. It is referred to by Jayaratha.

(6) *Nāṭaka-mīmāṃsā*—referred to by himself.

(7) *Alaṅkāra-vārtika*—cited by Jayaratha.

Ruyyaka himself mentions his *Śrīkaṇṭha-stava*, obviously a hymn in honour of *Śiva*, in his *Alaṅkāra-sarvasva*. In the same work on poetics, as well as in his *Vyaktiviveka-vyākhyāna*, he refers to the *Harṣa-carita-vārtika* as his own work.

Jayaratha figures in the domains of poetics, philosophy and poetical compositions. In poetics, however, he does not appear to have written any original work. He is well-

1. Ed. in Kāvyamālā 5, and by Pischel.

known as a commentator of Ruyyaka's *Alaṅkāra-sarvasva*, the name of his commentary being *Alaṅkāra-vimarśinī*. From this commentary, as well as from that on Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*, we learn that his father was Śṛṅgāranātha whose other son was named Jayadratha. From the latter we learn that his great-grand-father's brother, Śivaratha, was a minister of king Uccala of Kashmir (1101-1111 A.D.). Jayaratha is believed to have flourished in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Jayaratha's other work on poetics is the *Alaṅkārodāharaṅa* which appears to be intended mainly for supplying illustrations to Ruyyaka's work.

CHAPTER V

Poetical Compositions

India produced poetical compositions in abundance. To the inexhaustible fund of Sanskrit poetical compositions Kashmir's contribution is remarkable in bulk, variety and sometimes also in quality.

In this valley Poesy did not merely soar in the regions far above the dust, din and squalor of earthly life. In fact, the Kashmirian poets left no facet of life outside the ambit of their writings. The pomp and grandeur of the royal court, men and manners of different regions, the common frailties flesh is heir to, devotion to gods, eulogy of heroes and patrons—these are the themes on which they wrote.

India is particularly grateful to this valley for two kinds of poetical compositions, viz. historical and pornographical. Even if Kashmir had not produced other species of Kāvya, these two classes of compositions would have immortalised her. The historical poems of Kashmir, especially the one by Kalhaṇa, have, to a considerable extent, removed the stigma that Indian writers lacked historical sense. Despite legendary accounts and exggerations, Kalhaṇa's work contains materials that are indispensable for the political and social history of Kashmir.

The *Kuṭṭanī-mata* of the Kashmirian Dāmodaragupta is a unique work in which pornography, satire and the didactic element have been curiously blended. In thts respect, Kashmir can be said to have created a literary *genre*.

Of the didactic and satiric poems, we have a lot of Kashmiri provenance. In this field Kṣemendra's name stands out prominently. This writer has none comparable to himself in the diversity of interests and in the number of works produced. As an epitomist he is unrivalled. He epitomised the epics and the *Bṛhat-kathā*.

Many of the court-epics, produced in Kashmir, are

written in glorification of Śiva. Some of the poets, though dealing with other themes, pay homage to Śiva in their works. This accords well with the fact that Śaivism struck deep roots in the soil of Kashmir from the ninth century onward; no court-epic was composed in this region prior to this date. The stupendous size of the court-epics of Kashmir is a noteworthy feature. The *Hara-vijaya* of Ratnākara extends upto as many as fifty cantos! Most of the Mahākāvyas of Kashmir share the artificialities of the poems of the age of decadence. The poets are concerned more with the manner than with the matter. They must show off their skill and pedantry, and the themes just came handy. It should be noted that some of the Mahākāvyas of this valley, e.g. the *Avadāna-kalpalatā* and the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*, deal with Buddhistic themes.

Barring one or two devotional poems, most of the poems of this class are in honour of Śiva, and this is in the fitness of things in the land where Śaivism as a cult and philosophy obtained a firm foothold. The devotional poems, being in most cases simple invocations or conventionally ornate poems, are compositions of no high poetic order.

Kashmir has made a mark in the Sanskrit anthological literature. Vallabhadeva's *Subhaṣitāvalī* deserves special mention not only for its bulk but also for the variety of topics under which verses from a large number of poets have been culled. But for mention in this anthology, many of the poets, particularly of Kashmir, would have sunk into oblivion.

The Kashmirian poem *Caura-pañcāśikā*, dealing with the romantic theme of the love-affair between a teacher and his female pupil, is unique in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. It is the starting point of many versions of the story not only in Sanskrit literature but also in the present-day regional literatures of India.

With the exception of the anthologies, the poetical works of other classes appear to have originated in Kashmir from the eighth century to the twelfth. Of the anthologies, the

date of compilation of the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva is controversial. The *Sūktimuktāvalī* was compiled in the middle of the thirteenth century. Śrīvara, compiler of another anthology, flourished in the fifteenth century. There appears to have been no brisk literary activity in Kashmir under Muslim rule. This period was, however, not absolutely barren. In the field of poetical compositions we find the aforesaid anthology of Śrīvara. Besides, there is evidence of the utilisation of Persian sources in Sanskrit works. The *Kathā-kautuka* of the aforesaid Śrīvara is an instance in point.

The poetical compositions of Kashmir can be divided into the following classes :—

(a) Poems with historical themes.
(b) Didactic and satiric poetry.
(c) Court-epics.
(d) Devotional poems.
(e) Anthologies.
(f) Miscellaneous poems.

(a) Poems with historical themes.

Kalhaṇa's *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*[1] (stream of kings) alone can rebut the charge brought by some western scholars that Indians have no history nor any historical sense. Kalhaṇa was son of Campaka, minister of king Harṣa of Kashmir (1089-1101). Born perhaps early in the twelfth century, he completed this work in 1148 A.D. He was a Śaivite Brāhmaṇa well-versed in the Sanskrit learning of his day. Yet he appears to have had profound respect for Buddhism.

The contents of the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, composed in eight books, admit of two broad divisions, viz. legendary part and the historical part. The first extends from Book I to Book III,

1. Ed. (a) M.A. Stein, Bombay, 1892,
(b) Durgaprasad, Bombay, 1892, 1894, 1896,
(c) Ed., with Hindi tr., by P.R. Sastri, Kashi (Benares), 1960.
Tr. into English by Stein, Westminster, 1900, and by Pandit.

and the remaining part is constituted by Books IV-VIII. In the legendary section we find accounts of fifty-two kings. It is with Durlabhavardhana, founder of the Karkoṭa dynasty in the seventh century, in Book IV, that we emerge into the light of history. The date assigned to Jayāpīḍa or Bṛhaspati in this book appears to be inaccurate. But, with Avantivarman, who usurped power from this dynasty, we get more precise history. Book V carries the history of the line of kings started by Avantivarman down to 939 A.D. This history is completed in Book VI with the death of the dissolute and monstrous queen Diddā in 1003 A.D. Book VII describes the events beginning from the Lohara dynasty's emergence with the accession of Diddā's nephew and ending with the assassination of Harṣa in 1101 A.D. Book VIII, in 3449 verses, deals exhaustively with the contemporary turmoil and ferment following the accession of Uccala.

Kalhaṇa's work is a curious blend of legend and history. In the legendary part of the work he betrays the credulity of the uncritical mind that believes in fantastic stories, intervention of gods and demons in mundane affairs, witchcraft and the results of actions done in the previous existence. He traces the history of Kashmir from the prehistoric times of the *Mahābhārata* with the usual reliance on the legendary lore ; his motive was perhaps to impart a glorious antiquity to his native land. We have much in Kalhaṇa's treatise that is at variance with proved facts of history. For instance, he assigns Aśoka to a time which would correspond to 1260 B.C. He records, with complacent credulity, that Mihirakula and Toramāṇa, the well-known Hūṇa rulers, belonged to the Gonanda dynasty of Kashmir ! The same remarks are not happily applicable to the part of the work dealing with the historical period of Kashmir. Except for a few inaccurate chronological statements, Kalhaṇa's work is a dependable history corroborated by epigraphical evidence. The topography of Kashmir, contained in the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, is an eloquent testimony to the geographical knowledge of its author.

Kalhaṇa is conscious that he is writing a Kāvya at the same time realising that the magnitude of his canvas forbids the free use of the poet's stock-in-trade, viz. embellished language, lengthy descriptions of nature and other conventional things. Thus, we find that his work is comparatively free from the poetical excesses that mar the historical accounts in Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita* or Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita.* Kalhaṇa, however, could not shake off the influence of the epic on the one hand and of poetics on the other, the two powerful influences that moulded the Sanskrit poet. This accounts for the didactic tone that marks his work though unsuited to it. It must be said to the credit of Kalhaṇa that his presentation of contemporary history is commendable and that his work reflects the social, cultural and religious conditions of Kashmir with a considerable degree of precision. In fact, a reconstruction of the political and cultural history of Kashmir is impossible without drawing upon Kalhaṇa's masterly work.

Kalhaṇa's diction is generally simple, but occasionally his metaphorical expressions and the use of terms not familiar to us make his writing obscure. Otherwise, his descriptions are graphic and true to life. For instance, the activities of the imbecile king Anaṅga, the intrigues of his clever wife Sūryamatī, the embittered relations between Ananta and his son Kalaśa raised to the throne by his mother, the insults hurled by Ananta at Sūryamatī and *vice-versa* and finally the suicide of the king followed by his wife's burning herself on the funeral pyre of her husband are described with vividness. Kalhaṇa's power of characterisation is undoubted. The depraved kings, unscrupulous sycophants, intriguing ministers and priests, the turbulent landlords and wanton ladies have all been portrayed with insight.

Kalhaṇa does not arrogate to himself the function of a pioneer in the writing of a sustained chronicle of Kashmir. He frankly acknowledges the help he derived from Kṣemendra's *Rājāvalī* or *Nṛpāvalī* which is now lost and the still extant *Nīlamata-purāṇa* which is a work of the

Māhātmya type. Besides these sources, he mentions also the various *Rāja-kathās* (accounts of kings), Helārāja's huge list of kings in twelve thousand verses, Śrīmihira or Padmamihira and the author Śrī Chavillākara. Kalhaṇa refers also to inscriptions and grants as the sources drawn upon by him.

It can be safely asserted that no historical work in Sanskrit can match the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* in its broad sweep and in its standard of vividness and faithfulness.

That the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* has nothing comparable to itself is evident from, among other minor works, the three Kashmirian continuations[1] of it. The first of these is the *Dvitīya-rāja-taraṅgiṇī* of Jonarāja. Planned to bring the history down to the time of the author's patron Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidin (1417-67 A.D.), it was left incomplete due to the death of Jonarāja in 1459. The second by Śrīvara, pupil of Jonarāja, is entitled *Jaina-rājataraṅgiṇī* and covers the period 1459-86. The last one, called *Rājāvalī-patākā*, by Prājya Bhaṭṭa and his pupil Śuka, brings the story to some years following the annexation of Kashmir by Akbar (1486 A. D.). These are poor successors of Kalhaṇa's work. The period covered by them is long indeed, but the total historical content of these works taken together is about half of that found in the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*. These works needlessly devote space to descriptions of unimportant incidents. For example, the first two works exaggerate the virtues of the ruling Sultan while glossing over his failings. Barring Jonarāja's work these accounts betray their authors' inaccurate knowledge of the topography of Kashmir.

Besides stray verses, found in Sanskrit anthologies, Bilhaṇa is credited with the authorship of some literary works of which the *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*[2] is, perhaps, the

1. These three works are printed in the *editio princeps* of the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, Calcutta, 1835, and also in Durgaprasad's edition.

2. Ed. M. L. Nagar, Benares, 1945; The *editio princeps* was by G. Bühler, Bombay, 1875. It was partly translated into German by August Haack (1897, 1899). Tr. into Eng. by Banerji & Gupta, Calcutta, 1965.

most noteworthy. From the last canto of this work we learn that Bilhaṇa, son of Jyeṣṭhakalaśa and Nāgadevī, was born of a Brahmin family of Koṇamukha near Pravarapura in Kashmir. Having received his education in his native land he travelled widely in various parts of India for recognition as a poet and for fortune. His itinerary included Mathurā, Kānyakubja, Prayāga, Vārāṇasī, Bundelkhand, Aṇhilvād and some places of pilgrimage in south India. At Bundelkhand he appears to have been cordially received by King Kṛṣṇa of Ḍāhala in whose court he wrote a poem on Rāma. *En passant* he mentions king Bhoja of Dhārā whose court he might have visited. In south India he finally settled at Kalyāṇa where king Tribhuvanamalla, who assumed the title of Vikramāditya VI (1076-1127 A. D.), appointed him to the honoured post of Vidyapāti. It was to celebrate some events of his reign that Bilhaṇa composed, probably in the last quarter of the eleventh century, his well-known *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*.

Composed in eighteen cantos, the poem traces the mythical origin of the Cālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇa, and gives a fuller account of Tailapa (973-97 A. D.) who inaugurated the Cālukya rule. The reign of Āhavamalla, father of Vikramāditya, is described in some detail. He had three sons of whom Someśvara II was the eldest, Vikrama middlemost and Jayasiṃha the youngest. Vikramāditya having been the worthiest was chosen by his father as the crown-prince. But magnanimous and fair-minded as he was, he reasoned with his father and saw that his elder brother got his legitimate due. Vikrama made a series of conquests which included the Cola-land, Kerala, Mālava, Gauḍa, Kāmarūpa and the far-off island of Ceylon. He returned with immense booty to Kalyāṇa. But the immoral and impolitic practices of Someśvara compelled him to leave the place. The unscrupulous elder brother tried to capture him but in vain. Vikrama again directed his invading army towards the Cola-capital of Kāñcī the king whereof considering himself unequal entered into an alliance by marrying his

daughter to him. Rājiga of Veṅgi having usurped the throne of Kāñcī Vikrama proceeded to punish the usurper. Taking advantage of this situation Someśvara allied himself with Rājiga, but their army was completely routed by that of Vikrama. Someśvara was thrown into prison while Rājiga took to his heels. Now Vikrama took up the reins of administration and settled in Kalyāṇa. After sometime he went to the capital of the kingdom of Karahāṭa where the Śilahāra princess Candralekhā (Candaladevī), the paragon of beauty, chose him as her husband. Spending a long time there Vikrama returned. Soon after his younger brother Jayasiṃha revolted, prepared himself for an encounter with Vikrama and began to oppress the people. With great reluctance Vikrama marched against Jayasiṃha. A fight ensued in which the forces of the younger brother were vanquished. Vikrama returned to Kalyāṇa where, with his power consolidated, he reigned happily. The Cola king having again been puffed up with power Vikrama proceeded against him, and vanquishing the king there annexed Kāñcī.

Bilhaṇa indulges in the usual poetical exaggerations. Sometimes in poetic exuberance he loses the sense of proportion; this is evidenced by his description of Vikrama's winning Candralekhā, of the details of her physical beauty and of the love-sports of the couple; this description covers the formidable space of over seven cantos (VII-XIV)! But, shorn of the fanciful Kāvya-element, Bilhaṇa's poem contains matters whose historicity is generally borne out by epigraphical evidence. In fairness to the poet, we should remember that he is a court-poet writing for his patron and not a historian. As a poem, however, the *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita* cannot be rated high. The conventional descriptions apart, the language and style smack of the decadent Kāvya. We have nothing of the effortless composition in it. The frequent use of difficult words and puns cannot be passed over without an adverse comment. There are flashes of good poetry, but these are rare.

From Kalhaṇa[1] we learn that Jahlaṇa composed the *Somapāla-vilāsa.* In it he appears to have given an account of his patron, Somapāla, son of Saṃgrāmapāla of Rājapurī near Kashmir, who is said to have fought against the Kashmirian prince Sussala. The work has not yet been discovered.

On Jayaratha's testimony we learn that Ruyyaka, the poetician, wrote an *Alaṅkārānusāriṇī* which is believed, by Peterson and some other scholars, to have been a commentary on the *Somapāla-vilāsa* of Jahlaṇa.

This Jahlaṇa, who is to be distinguished from the anthologist of the same name, is mentioned in Maṅkhaka's *Śrīkaṇṭha-carita* as a minister of Rājapurī.

It is unfortunate that posterity allowed many a noteworthy work to sink into oblivion and eventually to be lost. One such work was the *Jayasiṃhābhyudaya* from the pen of no less a writer than Kalhaṇa. The title suggests the contents ; it was perhaps composed in honour of Jayasiṃha, son of Sussala, the reigning sovereign at the time when Kalhaṇa lived and produced his monumental work. It is from the *Sarasamuccaya* of Ratnākara that we learn of the above Kāvya by Kalhaṇa. This work, along with the lost *Somapālavilāsa*, if recovered, would have constituted strong links in the chain of evidence against the charge about the lack of historical compositions in Sanskrit.

Fragments of a historical poem, called *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*[2], are available. The printed text extends from canto I to part of canto XII, and is full of lacunae. It is quoted by Jayaratha and commented upon by Jonarāja, both Kashmirian. The poem, of unknown authorship, probably origi-

1. *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, viii. 621 f.

2. Ed. S.K. Belvalkar. Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1914—22.
A more recent edition is that by Ojha and Gulleri, Ajmer, 1941. The editors think that Jayānaka, a figure in the poem, was its author.
For a summary of its contents, see *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, April, 1913, pp. 259—281.

nating in Kashmir, celebrates the victory of the Cāhumāna prince Pṛthvīrāja of Ajmer and Delhi who fought with Shāhbuddin Ghori in 1191 A.D. It was, perhaps, composed during the lifetime of Pṛthvīrāja ; the author states (I. 31) that he was honoured and induced by the king to write it. The work appears to be modelled on Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅka-deva-carita*, and is a poem of the conventional type. We get in it, however, a dependable genealogy and an account of Pṛthvīrāja's ancestors beginning with Vāsudeva. For the history of Rājasthān (Rājputanā), during the period from the middle of the eighth century to the end of the twelfth, the poem is valuable.

(b) Didactic and satiric poetry

To pornography Kashmir's contribution is considerable in quality if not in bulk. The most well-known work of this class is the *Kuṭṭanī-mata*[1] (advice of a bawd) of Dāmodara-gupta. Kalhaṇa mentions Dāmodaragupta as a poet and minister of king Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (779—813 A.D.). Written in the Kāvya style, it represents an old procuress giving professional advice to a young harlot. The main theme of the advice is the art of feigned love by which to attract rich people with the sole object of fleecing them. Incidentally the adviser mentions the examples of some harlots who earned a lot of money by seducing people. Dāmodaragupta's merit lies in creating a new literary type. In the form of an unsavoury theme he draws some social pictures which are true to life. The work is a combination of the didactic and the satiric. It is didactic in the sense that it warns the reader against the trap usually laid by disreputable women. The satirical element is obvious in the portrayal of the coquetry and blandishments resorted to by such women. Occasionally the pictures the author draws are rather vulgar ; it is, of course, difficult to avoid coarseness altogether in a work dealing with such a theme. The poet-

1. Of the editions, the most noteworthy is that by Tripathi, Bombay, 1924.

no doubt parades his rhetorical skill and knowledge of the science of erotics, yet he writes in an elegant style. That Dāmodaragupta achieved distinction as a poet is borne out by the citation of his verses in works on rhetoric and anthologies. The work possesses interst also from the point of view of literary history in its depiction of the representation of the drama *Ratnāvalī* of Harṣa.

Of a similar type, but much inferior in quality, is the *Samaya-mātṛkā*[1] of the famous Kṣemendra. In eight chapters it relates the story of a young courtesan, Kalāvatī, a novice in her profession, who is introduced to an experienced bawd named Kaṅkālī for instructions. Kalāvatī, aided by her instructress, traps a rich young man and fleeces his naive parents. In this work, Kṣemendra depicts a picture of the moral delinquency prevailing in contemporary Kashmir. Kaṅkālī is typical of the whores who used to seduce people in various ways. Though at times vulgar, the work is nevertheless realistic. Though sometimes appearing to be gloating over vulgar descriptions, yet Kṣemendra produces satire which is incisive and occupies an important position among the satirical works in Sanskrit.

The *Darpa-dalana*[2] (crushing of pride) of Kṣemendra is a work of the didactic-satiric type. In seven sections called 'Vicāras', it denounces vanity arising out of lineage, wealth, learning, beauty, valour, charity and penance. The author commences the work with salutation to the power of discrimination (*viveka*) which, according to him, divests the mind of pride and teaches it the correct attitude. Each section begins with some verses the moral lesson contained in which is illustrated by an anecdote. In the anecdote the principal character gives an exhortation inculcating the maxims at the commencement of the section. The leading rôle is played by Buddha in section two and by Śiva in section seven. Let us take a bird's eye view of the contents of the different

1. Ed. Durgaprasad and Parab, NSP, Bombay, 1925.
2. Ed. Kāvyamālā, VI; pp. 66 ff.

sections. In the first section, the poet shows the hollowness of pride springing from birth in a high family. His main teaching is that many worthless persons are born in a high family, and many worthies have a low birth. In the great solar race was born Triśaṅku who was a Caṇḍāla[1]. But, among his descendants were the illustrious Dilīpa, Raghu, Rāma etc. Though born of an unmarried girl, Karṇa achieved immense fame. All this is a pointer to the fact that it is the intrinsic merit of a man that counts and not the family in which he is born. According to our author, he is of noble character who is endowed with the qualities of quietism (*śama*), forgiveness (*kṣamā*), charity (*dāna*) and kindness (*dayā*).

In the second section, in course of denouncing the possession of wealth as a source of endless misery and dilating upon the utter powerlessness of riches in saving a man from destined sorrow and inevitable suffering of mortal existence, the poet condemns the miser who merely hoards money but can neither enjoy it himself nor give it to others.

The learning that engenders pride does not enlighten the mind by removing ignorance. It is compared, at the opening of the third section, with the sun in a cloudy sky. That indeed is learning to him, which renders a man free from vanity ; otherwise, it is like the birds learning to read by practice without getting into the spirit of it.

The following section opens with the denunciation of the pride of beauty. The poet says that one's beauty lasts as long as one's youth remains. It is as ephemeral as the beauty of the face of a boy, which, with hairs growing on it, becomes like a lotus covered with moss. Beauty is robbed of charm by old age just as a picture by smoke, a lotus by snow and the moon by the dark fortnight. The section ends with an exhortation against the vanity of beauty in view of the evanescence of the beauty of renowned kings like Yayāti, Nala and Sudās.

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1. A person of very low caste sprung from the union of a Śūdra male and a Brāhmaṇa female.

In the next section, the poet says that valour should not engender pride in a man, because it is possessed by animals too. Valour, tempered by humility and kindness, is what is really commendable. In conclusion, he saya that a man, who is endowed with valour devoid of pride and devotes his life to the protection of cows and learned Brahmins, achieves enduring fame.

In the sixth section, Kṣemendra condemns gifts with a motive, e.g. for attaining heaven. He says that such a gift is merely the price for the purchase of merit (*dharmārtha-paṇya-kraya*). Gifts made in holy places like Kurukṣetra and at auspicious times like the eclipse are conducive merely to personal gain. But, that indeed is a praiseworthy gift which is calculated to remove the misery of others and is kept a secret.

The concluding section of the work opens with a statement that the object of penance is to put an end to attachment, pride of wealth and delusion. If one feels proud of penance, then the very purpose of performing it is defeated ; to such a person the renunciation of home-life and the emaciation of the body are futile. According to the poet, what is necessary is a spirit of detachment. If this can be developed, penance need not be performed. If attachment clings to a person, his penance is fruitless. The poet rounds off the section by holding that the best kind of penance consists in doing good to others.

Kṣemendra's style in this work is simple. Though the didactic element predominates, yet satire is not absent. His condemnation of the common human frailties is incisive. In the various legends and anecdotes, introduced by the author with a view to illustrating the moral maxims, his immense knowledge of the legendary lore is evident. What strikes us most is his rationality and liberal outlook which enable him to break away from the conventional ideas about pedigree, gifts etc. Unlike the ordinary person he does not put a premium on high parentage ; he values personal qualities much more than the accident of birth. Gifts on

ceremonial occasions are not rated high, because the giver thereby seeks the reward of merit.

The *Cāru-caryā*[1] of Kṣemendra consists of a century of verses purporting to inculcate morality and good conduct. The poet may have been inspired by the Śatakas of Bhartṛhari, but his work is a departure from the works of the Śataka type. Kṣemendra's originality lies in his references to a host of myths and legends by way of illustrating each one of the moral maxims. Some of the rules of conduct, laid down by Kṣemendra, are briefly as follows. One should not covet another man's wife; Rāvaṇa lost his life owing to his passion for Sītā. Jealousy is the root of quarrel and tolerance that of prosperity. A wise man should not do anything by resorting to falsehood; as a result of departure from truth Yudhiṣṭhira had to witness hell. One should never forget the good done by others. From the example of Daśaratha, who lost his life in fulfilling the wish of Kaikeyī, we should learn that one, out of excessive passion, should not allow oneself to be hen-pecked. A wise man should value a man's virtues rather than his high lineage. One, though engaged in severe penance, should not trust one's senses; even the sage Viśvāmitra, being enamoured of Menakā, embraced her. One should never believe in the words, full of guile, of harlots. A self-restrained person should not associate even with his mother in a lonely place; Pradyumna, though treated as a son, was passionately desired by Śambara's wife. Though placed in an exalted position, one should not insult the respectable persons; Nahuṣa got the status of Indra, but fell from that position owing to his insult of sage Agastya. One should not remain complacent after concluding a treaty with the enemy who may cause harm even after that. One should not be addicted to music vocal or instrumental; king Udayana, who had a passion for playing on the lute, was carried away by the enemy. One should never place one's

1. Ed. Kāvyamālā, II, p. 128 f.

wealth at the disposal of one's son: Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who delegated the powers to his son, was regarded as a straw. One should by no means set one's heart on marriage in the reverse order of castes.

As in his *Darpa-dalana*, so here too Kṣemendra displays his inexhaustible fund of knowledge of the myths and legends. He writes in a direct style, and puts his teachings in the form of pithy sayings which, often possessed of epigrammatic brevity and flavour, touch the heart. He appears to have possessed a wide experience of human life, its forte and foibles.

The *Sevya-sevakopadeśa*[1] of Kṣemendra is a short tract in sixty-one verses. It contains the poet's reflections on the relation between the master and the servant, and incidentally seeks to give advice to both. The poet congratulates those who have no necessity of serving the rich, and delineates the wretched condition of those who have to serve them. He says that it is futile to serve them with the hope of getting reward. The master is so haughty that he cannot see even the earth before him, not to speak of the poor servant. To the poet the image of the servant, with folded hands on his head, affliction in his heart and flattery in his mouth, is distressing indeed. Kṣemendra says that both the master and the servant are blind; the former due to pride and the latter owing to greed. Throughout the tract the author appears to be full of compassion for the servant, and denounces the conduct of the master. In conclusion, he exhorts the servant to abjure service of the rich and to cultivate a spirit of quietism that will enable him to seek inner light which is conducive to salvation.

The style of this brief work resembles that of the other works of this kind. Within the brief compass of sixty-one verses the poet uses a variety of metres; this surely testifies to his poetic skill.

The *Deśopadeśa* [1] of Kṣemendra consists of eight sections

1. Ed. Kāvyamālā, II. p.p. 79-85.

called Upadeśas. In these sections he deals respectively with the villain (*Durjana*), the miser (*Kadarya*), the prostitute (*Bandhakī*), the old procuress (*Kuṭṭanī*), the voluptuary (*Viṭa*), the students from abroad particularly from Gauḍa, the passionate old fellow, the depraved Śaiva teacher with his despicable followers. The poet characterises *Durjana* as *Khala*, and gives an ingenious etymology of the latter word. 'Kha', according to him, means 'Khacitra' i. e. one who can with facility fabricate an aerial picture in order to deceive people. 'La' stands for 'Laghu', i. e. one who is the lightest or meanest of men. In depicting the character of such a man the poet sarcastically likens him to one who has attained to the highest level of existence and, as a result, has perfect equanimity in honour and disgrace, and has the same attitude towards the friend and the foe. As a dog defiles a vessel with its tongue and, desirous of a morsel of food, indulges in quarrel, so also a wicked person speaks ill of good men and quarrels with others for a mess of pottage. While proclaiming the fault of good men such a man speaks highly of himself. His very glance is crooked, and is an index to his mind.

The miser is ever intent on hoarding money. Hoarding with him is not a means to an end but an end in itself. In a bid for saving money he does not use salt in his dishes. He uses the clothings acquired by his forefathers. If any relative comes to his house, he pretends fasting in consequence of a quarrel with his wife. If one steps into his house in the evening, he does not exchange courtesies with him lest he may have to entertain the guest. For gaining a selfish end he stoops very low, so much so that he licks the feet even of a Caṇḍāla. Ingratitude, cruelty, wickedness, crookedness—these are the traits of his character. A miser's house is one in which there is cooking without a hearth, and which is deslote and devoid of laughter, happiness and festivals. He is so fond of hoarding things that he does not sell off even paddy stored for sixty years! The confidence, created by his store of paddy, makes him dance

gleefully in both drought and flood; because he wants to see famine prevailing as a result thereof. The only thing he gives is his hand on the neck of those who want something from him; along with this he gives also the bar to his house-door.

The prostitute, though ageing, is extremely passionate. She is like thirst incarnate. Sweet in tongue and mischievous at heart she is like an axe cutting at the root of the passionate people. By her a wise man is befooled, a rich man is rendered destitute and an honest man is turned into a thief. Whether in a place of pilgrimage or in a temple the prostitute always earns money by sexual intercourse with men. Though old she is ever anxious to preserve her beauty by taking nutritious food. Though bereft of grace due to age, yet she tries to attract people with her face half-covered, the plump breasts exposed and hairs dishevelled. She wears a hundred amulets on her head, in her arms and neck in order to ward off evil spirits. The poet denounces passion for prostitutes' association by holding that it is more dangerous than all other worldly objects, because, while the latter prove painful in the end, the former causes pain at every stage—beginning, middle and end.

The bawd is a veritable blood-sucker. Extremely ruthless she is like a serpent ensnaring people by her glance. As soon as a man, well-dressed and adorned with ornaments, enters he is regarded by the bawd in the same way in which a sheep, with hoofs and horns, is viewed by a butcher. She is an adept in the use of affectionate words, and with a view to fleecing the people she can flatter them. She is a notorious woman with all her limbs bearing marks of injury inflicted in brawls. With alms collected from the people she proceeds to a place of pilgrimage, but returns from half the way.

The Viṭa is a despicable person haunting brothels like a dog though driven away by prostitutes. Chewing betel-leaves and uttering a dental speech he is heavily involved in

debt and assaulted by the enemies and seeks refuge in a foreign land. Living for only a month in the house of a Khaśa he boasts of a southern fashion of speech. He is forsaken by the good people, and spat upon the face by the prostitutes to whom he nevertheless clings passionately. He is gaudily dressed, has a twisting moustache and curly hairs and his forehead is slightly smeared with collyrium.

The students from Gauḍa studying in Kashmir betray certain ridiculous traits of character. They move along the streets taking great care to avoid the touch of others. They come to Kashmir with skeleton-like bodies which, in the bracing climate of the place, soon become fleshy ; so much so that their corpulence becomes a source of terror to their fellow-pupils. Though uttering the syllable 'Om' with difficulty, and having no capacity for disputation they take up the study of such difficult books and subjects as the Bhāṣya, Nyāya and Mīmāṃsā. They walk slowly frequently moving their elated heads. As they walk, their shoes make a cracking sound. With a cane in hand they assume the air of important personalities. They are extremely irascible, and do not hesitate to stab their fellow-boarders even at a slight provocation. They boastfully designate themselves as Ṭhakkuras, and try to take too many things from shop-keepers paying them too little. They are loose-tongued and abuse others in filthy language. Though making a show of morality they secretly frequent brothels. Though a river-full of water is not sufficient for the rinsing off of their mouths, yet they have no hesitation in drinking the residue of wine drunk by prostitutes. This is not their only vice. They also indulge in gambling. With their dark faces they look like monkeys when they laugh showing their white teeth.

The next section describes an old man marrying a young girl and the hideous consequences of the marriage. The man who is decrepit, and is on the verge of death, is under delusion and seeks the hand of a youthful damsel. The onlookers in the marriage ceremony resort to a banter, and remark that he marries for the next world. At his sight the bride bursts into tears, and her father gives her the false conso-

lation that the bridegroom is very rich and has become a victim of decrepitude. The ceremony over, the bride does not feel inclined to share the bed with the old man ; she abhors the bed like the place of execution. The bridegroom tries to fondle her and to show his love for her. But, the bride blames his senility. At the importunities of the groom asking her to share the bed, the bride runs from room to room till at last she is forced back into the husband's apartment by the relatives. The husband is devoted, and makes liberal presents to the wife who can stand him but for a moment as a patient does with a distasteful drug. With a view to increasing his vigour the old man takes nourishing food which results in his indisposition thus reducing his vitality. In course of time, the wife conceives, and this has happened as a result of her association with another man. A son is born to her, and the husband, overjoyed at this piece of good luck, celebrates the occasion. The women begin to dance saying that a sprout has grown from a tree that is withered and burnt. When the husband has one foot in the grave, the wife approaches him and enquires how much money he has got and where it is.

In the eighth and last section Kṣemendra gives character-sketches of various types of men. In this section he describes a Śaiva teacher, who is ignorant and of loose morals, as well as the people who come to him. Those who come to him include the Kāyastha and his wife to whom the Guru is favourably disposed, the poetaster with his disagreeable verses, the wily merchant, the boastful alchemist, the wicked man passing off as an ascetic, the pedantic grammarian and the ignorant scribe with stains of ink.

This little book reveals the undoubted capacity of Kṣemendra for satire. But his pictures are sometimes overdrawn. For example, in his portrayal of the character of Gauḍa students he notes nothing praiseworthy in them. The intellectual bankruptcy of Gauḍa students, ridiculed by the poet, is not borne out by the contemporary literary history of Bengal which had already established its reputation in the fields of Kāvya, Smṛti etc. Kṣemendra's exaggerated account

of foreign students smacks of provincialism. It must, however, be said to his credit that he has written in an attractive style, and his work goes a long way in throwing light on the contemporary social conditions of Kashmir where hypocrites and cheats exploited the gullible persons. Kṣemendra, the poet, does not merely roam in the region of fancy, but descends to the dust and mire of the earth as a shrewd observer of human frailties.

Kṣemendra's *Narma-mālā*[1] (series of jests) consists of three sections called Parihāsas. In this book the poet depicts the despicable characters of Kāyasthas, who are high officials under the government, as well as of wicked people passing off as good ones. The poet's satirical diatribe is directed chiefly against the Kāyastha bureaucracy before the time of king Ananta of Kashmir. According to him, the Kāyastha was, in his previous existence, the accountant of the demons. The demons having been destroyed by Viṣṇu, the Kāyastha loudly lamented in the sky ; from this incident he was called Divira, i.e. one who cries (*roditi*) in the sky (*divi*). His lamentation roused the compassion of Kālī who gave him the Kalama (pen) which would serve as his sword wherewith he would be able to defy gods, oppress the Brahmins and other pious men. Armed with this weapon, he took his terrestrial birth bent upon laying waste the temples and curtailing the expenses of fodder for cows.

The Kāyastha stands not only at the head of the bureaucratic hierarchy, but also occupies the key-positions. The posts of the Gṛhakṛtyā-dhipati (Chief Executive Officer of the internal administration), the Paripālaka (Provincial Governor), Lekhakopādhyāya (Head clerk), Gañja-divira (Accountant General) and the Niyogin (Supervisor of villages and Parganās) are all occupied by Kāyasthas.

The Gṛhakṛtyā-dhipati, with seven subordinate officers and eight orderlies, controls offices of both the civil and the

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1. Ed. M- Kaul, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, Poona, 1923.

military departments as also the department of Dharmārtha. He is a thorough-bred hypocrite. Apparently a great devotee of Śiva, at heart he is cruel and a persecutor of Brahmins.

The Paripālaka is an oppressor of people. He ravages temples and villages, terrorises the villagers and is up to any crime like killing Brahmins and slaughtering cows.

The Lekhakopādhyāya is the chief clerk of the Paripālaka. Ever anxious to promote the interest of his master, the chief clerk compels the villagers to give all sorts of things of domestic use for the Paripālaka. He is an efficient writer and a meritorious accountant. Before joining service the Lekhakopādhyāya was an emaciated fellow wearing a tattered and dirty dress. His wife was scantily dressed, had earthern ear-rings and used to cover her head with a broken winnowing basket. Now the Clerk-in-chief is in a comfortable financial condition, and his wife is gaudily dressed.

The Gañja-divira, who controls the treasury, produces a balance-sheet before Paripālaka, his master. It shows immense income within a short period. A drastic curtailer of expenses, he has reduced land-grants to Brahmins and cut expenses for the maintenance of temples. He boasts of his power whereby he has reduced to abject poverty those officers who tried to expose the malpractices that have fattened his purse. In collusion with the Paripālaka, who happens to have the same preceptor as his, the Gañja-divira sells off the paddy, stored in the granaries of temples, thus filling his private purse with unclean money.

The Niyogin vets the accounts of villages and Parganās, inspects roads and tries civil and criminal cases. Before joining the service he was in a wretched condition. Now he is not only a person to reckon with in the state and society, but has also amassed a fortune by resorting to unfair means. His camp-luggage consists, *inter alia*, of religious books and such holy things as Bilva leaves. His presence in the village inspires fear. He is a veritable crane intent on devouring the village-fish. He heaps insults on the poor villagers and inflicts heavy punishment for trifling offences. The persecution, indulged in by him, consists of confiscation of pro-

perty, imprisonment, ruthless caning and damaging houses. His malpractices include the despatch home of all sorts of necessaries of life extorted from villagers. Superior officers' orders remitting the punishment of some criminals are disregarded by him to prove his authority. Under him he has a Grāma-divira who can forge signatures, wipe off old letters and insert new ones so as to promote or harm the interest of the people when desired by him.

En passant the author sketches the character of the Āsthāna-diviras or the court-clerks. Absolutely unscrupulous, these clerks are regular visitors to public houses, take bribes, drink alcohol and are jealous of others' prosperity.

The Niyogin falls a victim to the ineluctable Nemesis. Having deceived people in the public life he is being cheated in his private life. The tutor, appointed for his boys on a monthly salary, is indifferent to his work and takes money for no substantial work. The Niyogin's wife, puffed up with vanity arising out of opulence which is the result of her husband's corrupt practices, looks down upon her neighbours. She is extremely foppish and eats and drinks in gold and silver vessels. Through the machinations of a Buddhist nun she is seduced by some rogues, and a foreign keeper of temple has an eye on her. She detests the husband's company and even his presence. By chance when the husband is at home, she feigns serious illness. In a bid to cure her malady her husband desperately spends money. He also requisitions the service of a physician and a false astrologer, but all his efforts prove futile. The wife's pretended illness, which he takes as real, causes financial loss to him in other ways too ; he cannot leave her in order to collect many articles which his assistant has managed dishonestly to lay hands upon. The Kāyastha, who was at first a Buddhist, recently embraced Vaiṣṇavism ; but, for his wife's welfare, he has resorted to Tāntric practices. For her health he has arranged for a sacrificial rite to be conducted by his Guru who is a vile person in a religious cloak.

Misfortunes come in a battalion. He is informed that the Gṛhakṛtyādhipati has decamped with stolen state pro-

perty and that the Paripālaka has been put to prison. Before the Niyogin can make good his escape, the soldiers catch hold of him. The king sentences him to rigorous imprisonment, and orders the confiscation of his property. He gets release through the contrivance of his sister, who is a prostitute, but his last days are miserable. He lives in penury and on the charity of others. Finally he dies an ignominious death.

Like the *Deśopadeśa*, to which it is a complementary work, the *Narma-mālā* draws a picture of the contemporary society of Kashmir. In this work too, as the author himself states in the concluding verse, his object is to offer advice to people. The vehicle of this advice is not insipid sermon but spicy banter. The author shows discernment in dealing with the different characters, his knowledge of men and manners is profound. Kṣemendra's style is attractive and language simple as in other works of this type.

Kṣemendra's *Kalā-vilāsa*[1] is an interesting work. Composed in ten cantos, it describes the various modes of deceit practised by people in the different walks of life. It is written in the form of instructions given by Mūladeva, the well-known master of trickery, to Candragupta whose father Hiraṇyagupta places him in charge of the master. The first canto is devoted to an analysis of the nature of Dambha (hypocrisy) which is the essence of all wickedness (*sakala-kalā-hṛdaya-sāra*). By means of Dambha are trapped human beings just as serpents are caught by incantations, the unsuspecting deer by snares and birds by nets.

The next canto is a description of greed. The poet holds that one should think of greed under the influence of which man forgets the distinction between what should be done and what should not. It is through greed that merchants, the day-thieves (*divasa-caura*), rob people. Those who are naturally greedy suffer from severe torments, yet do not give up greed. Deceitful art arising out of greed dwells in the heart of the greedy. One devoid of greed does not deceive others.

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1. Ed. Kāvyāmālā, I, p. 34 f.f.

In the third canto, the poet dwells on the nature of passion (*kāma*). He likens passion, which is pleasing for the moment but destructive in the long run, to deadly poison with a sweet coating. The wiles of women, with frames soft as flowers and hearts of adamant, are difficult to understand and cause delusion in the minds of men. Women are fond of moving about in the society, naturally inclined to young men, engaged in recounting the virtues of others and pointing out the vices of their own husbands. One who has an insight into the fickle and crooked nature of women and knows their cruel conduct is not deceived by them.

The fourth canto is devoted to the conduct of harlots. They are said to possess a knowledge of the sixty-four arts which are enumerated by our poet. The arts, *inter alia*, are crooked glance, deceit of friends, weeping, feigned sleep and death, stealing, charms and drugs for winning over others etc. Prostitutes, like false hope, at first please a man, then plunge him into vices or calamities and, in the end, cause affliction to him. Many-hearted, myriad-tongued, multiarmed and possessed of a variety of wiles, prostitutes are difficult to understand. Many indeed are her lovers—one describes her, another gives her money, yet another serves her while a different person protects her and quite another man is her companion in her amorous sports. In this canto, the poet alludes to a number of legends by way of illustrating the evil consequences of attachment to disreputable women.

The fifth canto depicts the character of the crafty scribe (*Kāyastha*) who deceives others by his crooked writings.

The sixth canto is devoted to a description of pride and the evils resulting from it. The poet says that Dama (self-restraint) of the golden age has become reversed as Mada (pride) in the Kali age. He further holds that the pride-trees of man are the pride of valour, pride of beauty, pride of sexual union and pride of high birth ; these trees grow from the root of pride arising from plentitude. In course of a description of various kinds of vanity, the author condemns the vice of drinking which may, in a moment, set at naught the good con-

duct earned through years. After dilating upon the evil consequences of this vice the author enumerates the parts of the body of various creatures, in which pride resides. For example, it resides in the frowns and the distorted faces of the rich, in the teeth, dress and hair of the handsome, in the tail of the peacock and in the feet of swans.

In the seventh canto the author describes the tricks played by the travelling singer, bard, dancer and actor to rob people of their money which is indeed the life of all kinds of rites and ceremonies. The thief steals money surreptiously while the singer-thief robs a man in broad daylight by singing odd songs and making ridiculous postures. In the morning the singers are sober wearing ornaments ; at noon being defeated at gambling they become devoid of their trappings, and in the evening they take away the people's money after deceiving them with flattering songs. Even with shabby songs they earn a lot, but are never satisfied with what is paid to them. The actor and dancer etc. also exploit the rich people by resorting to tricks.

The next canto is devoted to the description of the nefarious tactics of the goldsmith who steals gold which is the essence of all wealth, serves as ornaments in prosperity and is a means of safety in adversity. He knows a number of tricks helpful in misappropriating gold. Of these tricks sixty-four are well-known while a host of others are too subtle to be detected.

The ninth canto lays down the wiles of various wicked persons like the astrologer, the quack passing off as a physician, the apothecary selling patent medicines, merchants and those who earn their livelihood by dishonest means. The games of some of these tricksters are as follows. The astrologer spreads out the horoscope, pretends to read the effects of planets and then answers the questions of the persons concerned. He calculates the time of the moon's conjunction with Viśākhā, but, lo, cannot know that his own wife is engaged in various love-sports with her paramours. The physicians are a greedy sort of people rendering the patients completely penniless ; they are like the extremely hot summer days absolutely drying up water from

a spot. The chemist himself having a shining bald dupes bald-headed persons by raising the hope of growing hairs on their heads, and thus rob them of their money. The prostitutes, besmeared with ashes, and aged Buddhist nuns move about in the society corrupting women of good families and robbing them of their money. Like hunters many wicked people are intent on seducing the wives of the gullible persons and relieving them of their purses. There are some rogues who wander on streets giving women amulets calculated to win over others.

The tenth and concluding canto of the work contains an enumeration of the salutary practices which should be resorted to by people for the welfare of themselves and the society. At the outset the author warns his readers by saying that the nefarious tricks described above should not be practised by people ; these are only to be known. Of the commendable practices, the most important are kindness to beings, doing good to others, charity, forgiveness, truthfulness, freedom from greed, composure and absence of jealousy, association of the good, use of sweet words, detachment, self-control, purity, acquisition of learning etc. To trust women is one of the practices which should be avoided.

In this work we find Kṣemendra as a keen observer of the ways of the world. With an insight into human nature he describes how wicked people exploit the gullibility of the people in general. His observations were perhaps based on the contemporary society of Kashmir. Nevertheless these are true in all climes and ages. The types of rogues and tricksters, mentioned by him, are true to life ; their characters have been delineated with the realist's pen and not with the brush of an imaginative painter. The realistic treatment, coupled with the simple diction of Kṣemendra, has added to the value of this work. The poet's aim is to warn people against roguery, and this he has done not through dry sermons but through satire which has made the work so eminently readable. He looks at society not merely with the cynic's eye, pointing out

the malpractices, but also sets forth suggestions for making the society healtheir and a happier place to live in.

The *Caturvarga-saṃgraha*[1] of Kṣemendra consists of four chapters. The four ends of human life, viz. Dharma (virtue), Artha (wealth), Kāma (love) and Mokṣa (salvation), are praised in these chapters in order. While eulogising virtue the poet says, "That is wisdom under the influence of which passion does not spoil pure conduct ; that is valour by which the senses are subdued, that is learning by which illusion, the conqueror of the world, is deceived ; that is scholarship by which the suffering of existence comes to an end." Further on he holds, "It is as a result of immense merit that a man becomes devoid of greed for others' wealth, devoid of curiosity about others' wives, fond of others' friendship, tolerant to insult by others, an adept in the praise of others, devoid of the censure of other's virtues and ready to remove the suffering of other people."

Contrary to the usual practice of Sanskrit writers, who generally condemn wealth as a source of suffering, Kṣemendra expatiates on its great utility in the worldly life. Incidentally, of course, he refers to the practices which lead to diminution of wealth. Regarding its utility he maintains that, owing to poverty, one's family is ruined and that all the virtues of a man perish due to the humiliation caused by solicitations, According to the poet, one who does not save money takes the poison from one's own hand, and remains only to behold the face ot the enemy. The poet further says, "A man hears religious sermons, has a desire for love and salvation as long as he is not oppressed by hunger. When one has to think of having one's meal but has no money, one cannot set one's mind on virtue, love or salvation."

The word 'Kāma' has been taken by Kṣemendra not in its wider connotation of 'desire' but in the narrower sense of love for women. A beautiful woman, according to him, is the gladdener of one's eyes and her love is the solace of man.

1. Ed. Kāvyamālā, V p. 85 f.f.

The possessor of the sweet heart is the enjoyer of a kingdom—the rediance of her sportive laughter is the chowrie, the breasts marked with sandal-paste when embraced are the golden pitchers for consecration by water and her gold-coloured graceful buttock is the throne.

In the fourth and last chapter he says that Viveka (power of discrimination) and Vairāgya (indifference to worldly objects) are the essential things in life ; all else is worthless. One's boyhood is spent in utter delusion, youth in excessive passion, old age in the agony caused by lack of capacity for all enjoyment—thus without the cultivation of the spirit of indifference life is futile. According to the poet, non-attachment is the only thing in which one has no cause of fear ; all else is fraught with causes of fear—in enjoyment there is the fear of disease, in happiness there is the apprehension of destruction, in wealth there is fear from fire and the king, in servitude there is fear from the master, in virtues one has to fear the wicked, in one's family there is fear from bad women, in honour there is the fear of its being tarnished, in conquest there is fear from the enemy and in the body there is fear from the god of death.

As in his other works of this kind so in this work also Kṣemendra's style is racy and language simple. He presents the facts of life in a manner that is full of realism. Although there are commendable poetic touches in this work, yet the poet does not soar too high on the wings of fancy. His chapter on wealth reveals Kṣemendra as a man of the world and not as a follower of the time-honoured idealistic school which regards wealth as worthless and as an object to be shunned.

The *Nīti-kalpataru*,[1] attributed to Kṣemendra, in its extant form consists of 138 sections which are variously styled as Kusuma, Stabaka, Gucchaka, Śākhā and Prakāṇḍa. There is a commentary on a portion of the text. The occurrence

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1. Ed. V. P. Mahajan, Poona, 1956.

of divergent forms of the title in the work itself, the colophon betraying a departure from the usual practice of Kṣemendra in his undisputed works and particularly quotations from the works of writers known to have flourished after Kṣemendra point to the fact that there have been interpolations into the *Nīti-kalpataru*. The nucleus of the work was perhaps from the pen of Kṣemendra.

The subject-matter of the *Nīti-kalpataru*, as the title suggests, is 'Nīti. 'Nīti' has been defined at the outset as the divine sight (*divyaṃ cakṣuḥ*) and transparent intellect (*amala-prajñā*). The word has been used in its broadest connotation ; it includes worldly wisdom and polity in its scope. A perusal of the work leads to the assumption that it is designed to be a guide for the prince who is going to shoulder the responsibilities of a kingdom. Some of the topics, dealt with in it, are : resort to a stronger power when one is weak, patience as an essential requisite in the king's character, protection of women, qualifications of a minister, qualifications of an ambassador, system of espionage, art of knowing who is a good man or a bad man, officers in charge of various royal departments, the scribe, testing of jewels and pearls etc.

The *Nīti-kalpataru* is encyclopoedic in form, and appears to be modelled on the earlier work, called *Yukti-kalpataru*, ascribed to Bhoja (10th. century A.D.) The picture of the ideal prince that emerges from the work is briefly as follows. The prince should not yield to fear before determining the cause of it. He should realize that intellect is superior to physical force and courage. He should never associate with bad people, and try to give advice to fools who may react adversely. When himself weak, a prince should resort to a stronger power. A self-willed king transgresses religion and morality and none can restrain him. A king's resolution must be translated into action which, once undertaken, must be performed even at the cost of his life. In passing verdicts on disputes between parties he will not only consider the facts represented but also be able to see through their motives. He must possess knowledge about men, elephants and horses

so that he can select the right personnel for various kinds of administrative work and employ suitable animals in the army. For such knowledge he must be conversant with Palmistry, Psychology, Elephant-lore etc.

The *Nīti-kalpataru* has nothing new to give us. It is, however, composed or compiled in a novel plan. It is not merely a dry moral code containing a series of do's and don'ts for kings. Diversification has been attempted by incorporating edifying stories, appropriate to the subject in hand, gathered from such sources as the *Bṛhatkathā*, the *Vetāla-pañcaviṃśati* etc. The work i a repository of information collected from works like the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, the Smṛti works of Parāśara, Mārkaṇḍeya, Manu, Yājñavalkya and the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*. The information, derived from their works, relates chiefly to the means of knowing the right types of men and materials required by the king.

A few stories, found in the *Nīti-kalpataru*, are briefly given below.

While demonstrating the superiority of intelligence over physical strength, the author gives the story of the crane, the fish and the shark. In a tank there lived some fish and a shark. They were afraid of the crane, Nīticañcu (renowned for morality) by name, that lived on the bank. Unable to catch the fish that kept away from him, the crane hit upon a plan. One day he pretended to be terrified at the approach of a fisherman, and assured the fish that he would carry them to a safer place. The fish having agreed, he took many of them one by one to a slab of stone where he ate them up. The shark also expressed its eagerness to be rescued. The crane carried him to the same spot. There the shark saw remnants of the fish, realised the game of the crane, devoured it and was praised by the other fish.

To illustrate that advice to a fool is dangerous, the following story is given. A band of monkeys used to live in a forest. Once when it was very cold they saw a fire-fly. Taking it to be fire they threw straw over it. One of them began to blow it for

fire. A bird nearby smiled and said that it was a fire-fly and not fire. Enraged at this, it threw a stone at the bird which died.

Of the various kinds of fools, described in the *Nīti-kalpataru*, some are as follows. A fool had a cow which used to yield a good quantity of milk. Once he thought that he would hold a festival. Desirous of getting a large quantity of milk for the purpose he decided not to milch the cow for a month. The festival came. He started milching the cow, but, being out of practice it gave very little milk. Angry at this he applied force for getting more milk instead of which he got blood from the cow's body. When the people learnt all about the matter, they began to laugh at him.

A foolish man went to the market for selling cotton. People, however, did not accept the commodity saying that it was impure. The man thought for sometime, and went to a goldsmith. On enquiry he was told that gold was purified in fire. He applied the same test to the cotton which was burnt to ashes, and he became an object of ridicule.

A miserly king would hoard money which he would neither give to anybody nor spend for his own enjoyment. His ministers advised him to give away the money saying that charity destroys a man's misery in the other world. The king replied that he would make a gift of the money when after death he would find misery in the other world.

To the class of didactic poems belongs also the *Mugdhopadeśa*[1] (advice to the naive), in sixty-six verses, by Jahlaṇa of the first half of the twelfth century. The poet is different from Jahlaṇa, the compiler of the anthology called *Sūkti-muktāvalī* or *Subhāṣita-muktāvalī*. The author was probably influenced by Kṣemendra in writing this little work. It contains warnings against the wiles and snares of harlots. As the poet merely sermonises, his work is not so attractive as those of Kṣemendra in which the satirical element ls delightful. We give a few

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1. Ed. Kāvyamālā, Gucchaka VIII,

specimens of his remarks. He says that love is as impossible in a harlot as want of restlessness in a monkey, straightness in a bow, softness in granite, sweetness in the fruit of the Nimba tree (*Azadirachta indica*) and fragrance in garlic. Again, as a fool is never free from vice, a merchant is not devoid of fraud, an official of the king is not honest, a servant is not independent, an idiot is not devoted to virtue, a thief is not free from desire, a terrified man is not calm, and a tale-bearer is not pious, so a harlot is never loving. The successive vices, and the miserable end of the life of one attached to prostitutes are described thus. A bad fellow, absolutely under the influence of prostitutes, becomes a financial wreck, takes to gambling, loses his all, and hardpressed by gamblers takes to theft and as a thief is put to death by the king.

The *Bhallaṭa-śataka*,[1] consisting of 108 verses in a variety of metres, is attributed to Bhallaṭa. Nothing is known about the poet beyond the fact that he is stated in the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* (v. 204) to have flourished under the Kashmirian king Śaṅkaravarman (883-902 A.D.) Verses from this Kāvya have been quoted by Abhinavagupta (*Locana*), Kṣemendra (*Aucitya-vicāra-carcā*), Kuntaka, Mammaṭa and Vallabhadeva —all Kashmirians. The anthology, called *Śārṅgadhara-paddahati*, also quotes verses from it. From the colophon[2] to this *Śataka*, the author appears to have written three works of which the present work is one. The text of this *Śataka* appears to contain some verses which were probably interpolated at a later time. Some of its verses are attributed to other poets in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* and the *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati*, and a verse of the *Dhvanyāloka* is found in it (No. 68).

The verses of the *Bhallaṭa-śataka* are elegant and free from the artificialites that usually disfigure the poems of this age. In well-turned verses the poet lays down his reflections on the ways of the world. For example, he says, "Those particles of dust

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1. Ed. Kāvyamālā, IV, pp. 169-188.
2. *iti ratna-traye bhallaṭa-śatakaṃ śamāptam.*

which are naturally light, are not counted anywhere, and being trampled under feet every day ever remain hidden in the earth, being lifted up into the sky by the fickle wind, they fix their abode on the lofty mountains." A fine expression of the idea that the vile gain superiority over the noble by force of circumstances ! We find a beautiful condemnation of man's ingratitude in the following : "O good tree, why were you born in a junction of four roads ? Why have you dense shade ? Endowed with shade why have you borne fruits ? Though possessed of a wealth of fruits why are you bent low ? Now, as a result of your own misdeeds, tolerate the pulling, shaking, crushing and breaking of the tips of your branches by the people."

The *Śānti-śataka*[1] is attributed to one Śilhaṇa (also Śihlaṇa or Silhaṇa). The poet's name is mentioned in I, 2, 3 of the *Śānti-śataka*. We know nothing of the personal history of this poet. His name, however, is typically Kashmirian. The anthology *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* of the Bengali Śrīdhara-dāsa cites verses ascribed to Śilhaṇa. The date of this anthology (1205 A.D.), therefore, constitutes the lower terminus to the date of Śilhaṇa. Winternitz is inclined to the view that this Kashmirian poet chose Bengal as the place of his literary activity—a hypothesis which is probably based on the fact that the aforesaid anthology of Benga quotes quite a number of verses ascribed to Śilhaṇa.

The poem is divided into four chapters called Paritāpopaśama (relief from remorse), Vivekodaya (rise of true knowledge), Kartavyatopadeśa (instructions about duty) and Brahma-prāpti (attainment of Brahman). The first chapter opens with the affirmation of the inexorableness of action the fruits of which even gods cannot avoid. The poet then gives expression to a sense of envy at those who, free from all

1. Ed. (i) J. Vidyasagara in *Kāvya-saṃgraha*, ii, Calcutta, 1872.
(ii) K. Schonfeld, with German tr., Leipzig, 1910.
(iii) in Hoeberiin.

sorts of worldly attachment, have renounced everything and devoted themselves to meditation on the Supreme Being. This envy is naturally followed by repentance over the inability of the common man to follow in the footsteps of those who have taken to the path of peace. For example, the poet says, "Birds without any apprehension sit on the lap and drink the tears of joy of those blessed ones who in mountain-caves meditate upon the Supreme Light. Our life, on the contrary, is spent up while we remain in palaces, on the banks of tanks, in pleasure-gardens and bowers for sports built according to our desire" (I. 5). Again, "The moth rushes into the lamp without knowing the painful effect of burns, the fish too swallows, out of ignorance, the pieces of meat attached to the hook. Even knowing fully well that the objects of desire are enmeshed in danger, we do not shun them. Alas, painful is the greatness of delusion " (I. 8) The poet concludes the chapter with a condemnation of the association of women whose sharp arrows in the shape of glances pierce through the armour of quietism of even the best of men.

In the second chapter, the poet dwells on the illusory character of the world and earthly pleasures which appear to be real to one devoid of true knowledge. To the discerning people the hollowness of the terrestrial pleasures is obvious. Describing the unbounded nature of desire the poet says, "A person who is destitute longs for a hundred, one having a hundred hankers after ten hundred, a person possessed of one thousand wants a lac, the master of a lac desires the status of a king, a king wants to be a paramount monarch, a paramount sovereign wants to be Indra, the lord of gods yearns for the position of Brahman, the latter desires the status of Viṣṇu ; who, alas, has come to the end of hopes ? (II. 6). While resort to forest-life has been lauded, the poet holds that, to one whose passions are extinguished, the home is the hermitage.

In the next chapter, in course of exhorting the people with regard to the right conduct, the poet says, "The forest of worldly existence is terrible, this house of the body is full of holes, the powerful time is the thief, of continual darkness is the

night of delusion. O men, having held the sword of knowledge and put on the armour of good conduct, be vigilant with steadfast eyes." (III. 4).

In the concluding chapter, the poet describes the attainment of Brahman as the *summum bonum* of existence, and dwells upon the ways of reaching the goal. Renunciation is the means to this end. It is the Yogin who alone can get over the bonds of desire that stand in the way of salvation. Says the poet, "Hope is the river of which wish is the water, hankering is the waves, attachment is the crocodile, the birds (on the bank) are argumentation ; which destroys the tree of patience, is extremely difficult to cross due to eddies in the shape of delusion and whose very high banks in the form of anxiety are manifest. The lords of Yogins, of pure minds, having crossed the river, become delighted" (IV. 26).

The poem aims at the inculcation of ascetic morality, a theme which is not novel with Śilhaṇa. He is obviously influenced by the Vedāntic teachings, the *Vairāgya-śataka* of Bhartṛhari, and possibly also by the Buddhistic works. It is not fair to accuse Śilhaṇa of pessimism on the ground that the general trend of the entire poem is to show the utter worthlessness of worldly life. The poem is not meant for the common man ; at the outset the poet asks the readers to go through his work if he likes quietism and seeks salvation. Śilhaṇa's condmennation of women as the snares of mankind is in keeping with the misogynic outlook that characterises the Dharmaśāstra of the post-Vedic period. One wonders if women should not have any means of saving their souls ! Happily for us, the verses of Śilhaṇa are conspicuously free from the laboured diction of the poets of his age. His verses are eminently readable.

The text of the poem, now available in print, appears to be of a composite nature. Two of its verses are ascribed in anthologies to other poets. Some verses of it are found in the work of Bhartṛhari, a verse of the rhetorician Ānandavardhana occurs in it, and one of its verses is found in the *Nāgānanda* of Harṣa. In view of the lack of definitive texts of Bhartṛhari's

works and that of Śilhaṇa we are not yet in a position to determine the extent of the genuine and the spurious in the printed text of the *Śānti-śataka*. In certain cases, there appears to have been a confusion between the names of Śilhaṇa and Bilhaṇa. For example, while some manuscripts of the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* attribute certain verses to Bilhaṇa, others ascribe them to Śilhaṇa. One of Bilhaṇa's verses is found in the *Śānti-śataka*. Śilhaṇa appears to have composed other works besides the present one. Some of the verses, attributed to him in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, are not traceable in the *Śānti-śataka* as it has come down to us.

(c) Court-epics

Kṣemendra was a prolific writer not only on a particular subject. He had a wide range of interests and a master mind. He did not rest content by merely studying a subject, but also wrote on it. It appears that he had a great fondness for epitomising the well-known treatises, and this he did in the poetical form.

Kṣemendra appears to have composed a large number of works of which some are known by name only.[1] We give below an account of his published works.

In 1037 A.D. Kṣemendra wrote his *Bhārata-mañjarī*.[2] Designed to be an abstract of the *Mahābhārata*, it is composed in eighteen books which, in the fashion of the original, are called Parvans. It is one of the few Sanskrit Kāvyas dealing with the *Mahābhārata* as a whole. The poet has naturally followed the Kashmirian recension of the great epic. In trying to produce a unified poem out of the heterogeneous medley of the epic, Kṣemendra has applied his pruning pen in wholly expunging some matters and reducing others in size. The Bhīṣmaparvan is an instance in point. In

1. For the names of such works, see Appendix II.
2. Ed. Sivadatta and Parab, Bombay, 1898.

place of about a lac of verses of the original, Kṣemendra has summed up the whole matter in about 500 verses. Even the *Bhagavadgītā* has been considerably compressed. The poet has also re-arranged the contents of the original in some cases in order to achieve his purpose. The episode of the club-duel between Bhīma and Duryodhana has been torn from the Śalya-parvan of the original, and described in what he calls Gadā-parvan. The Anuśāsana-parvan has been omitted, and some of its matters have been dealt with under Śānti-parvan. Thus we find that he took all sorts of liberty with the text. This is true also in the case of the supplement, called *Harivaṃśa*, which receives but a cursory treatment in his epitome.

Kṣemendra's skill as an epitomist is undoubted. The rehandling of the contents of the colossal epic, without marring the spirit of the original, certainly requires a talent of no mean order. This is particularly commendable because the poet is a pioneer in this respect. His abstract has value in the evolution of the text of the epic. But, as a poem the *Bhārata-mañjarī* cannot be rated high. At best, it is a versified epitome, written in a simple language and designed for the general reader who has neither the time nor the erudition to go through the original epic. At worst, it is jejune and insipid. The *Bhārata-mañjarī* is a monument to Kṣemendra's erudition and industry, but nevertheless it substantiates the charge of dreariness levelled against him by scholars mostly of the west.

A work, similar in nature to the *Bhārata-mañjarī*, is the *Rāmāyaṇa-mañjarī*[1] of the same author. It is a unique work in the sense that it, for the first time, gives us an abridged version of the entire Rāma story. As in the case of the *Mahābhārata*, so here too the author has taken great liberty in handling the original story in such a way as to suit a poem. All the seven books, under the same titles, are found in Kṣemendra's work, but the contents have been altered to a

1. Ed. Bhavadatta and Parab, 1903.

considerable extent. For instance, his Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa ends with the demise of Daśaratha instead of Rāma's entry into the forest as found in the original. Again, the Yuddha-kāṇḍa of Kṣemendra's work comes to an end with the destruction of Rāvaṇa. The other incidents of the Yuddha-kāṇḍa of the original, viz. lamentation of Rāvaṇa's wives, Vibhīṣaṇa's coronation, Sītā's ordeal etc., are dovetailed into the Uttara-kāṇḍa. Into the desert of verses Kṣemendra has tried to introduce oases in the shape of the description of some seasons in the Araṇyakāṇḍa and Kiṣkindhyā-kāṇḍa. These diversify the otherwise monotonous work. As in the other abstract so here too Kṣemendra makes a judicious recast of the original to suit his purpose, and reveals his unconventional attitude towards the contents of the epic. But, as a specimen of poem it is as poor as the other one.

Devoid of poetic distinction is also his *Daśāvatāra-carita*[1] (1066 A.D.). In it he describes and extols each of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu in separate cantos. The incarnations are in this order: the Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Man-lion, Dwarf, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Karkya, the last being obviously Kalki. It should be noted that in canto IX Buddha has been represented as the personification of Kṛṣṇa, and the Buddha legend has been transformed into a Viṣṇu-legend.

The most noteworthy of the epitomes, produced by Kṣemendra, is the *Bṛhat-kathā-mañjarī*[1] written in the first half of the eleventh century. Divided into eighteen cantos called Lambhakas, it consists of over 7,000 verses. Along with the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* of the Kashmirian Somadeva, it represents the lost north-western version of the *Bṛhat-kathā* traditionally attributed to Guṇāḍhya who, on the authority of the writers like the rhetorician Daṇḍin, wrote his work in Paiśācī Prākrit. As the original *Bṛhat-kathā* is lost, we are not in a position to assess the value of Kṣemendra's

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1. Ed. N.S.P., Bombay, 1901.

work. The *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī*, like the other Kashmirian version of the *Bṛhatkathā* and its Nepalese version, describes the adventures of Naravāhanadatta, son of Udayana, his acquition of Madanamañjukā as his bride and of the land of Vidyādharas as his empire. Kṣemendra's composition is not of a high poetic merit, and occasionally betrays the artificialities of the later Kāvya. Sometimes in his attempt to produce an abridged version, he appears to have cut the fact too short. Again, he unnecessarily dilates upon the erotic matters and prolongs the religious section.

Another abridgement of the *Bṛhatkathā* is Somadeva's *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* (the ocean of the streams of stories) presumably based on the lost north-western version of Guṇāḍhya's work. Written between 1063 and 1082 A.D., Somadeva's work, like Kṣemendra's, is in eighteen chapters but nearly three times the latter in bulk. Somadeva's style is limpid and free from needless elaboration.

Of Somadeva's personal history we know nothing beyond the fact that he wrote his work for the diversion of Queen Sūryamatī who immolated herself on the funeral pyre of her husband, Ananta. Ananta put an end to his life in 1081 A.D.

To Kashmir belongs one Abhinanda, son of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa.[1] Though a Gauḍa is mentioned by him as one of his ancestors, it is not known whether or not he is identical with the Gauḍa Abhinanda cited in the anthologies. The author of a *Rāma-carita* is named Abhinanda. But, the name of the father of this last-mentioned Abhinanda is Śatānanda which renders his identity with the Kashmirian Abhinanda doubtful.

The Kashmirian Abhinanda's *Kādambarī-kathā-sāra*[2], as the title implies, is a versified abridgement of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's prose romance called *Kādambarī*. The work is in eight cantos, and belongs to the class of poetical works composed in the age of decadence. It is devoid of literary distinction.

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1. For an account of this Kashmirian logician and his works, see Chapter VII.
2. N.S.P. Ed., Bombay, 1888, 1899.

Abhinanda's work is quoted by Abhinavagupta, Kṣemendra and Bhoja. This, along with the fact that, in a stanza attributed to him, Abhinanda mentions Rājaśekhara as his contemporary, makes it probable that this Abhinanda lived in the ninth century.

The *Bodhisattvā-vadāna-kalpalatā*[1] (the wish-yielding creeper of the exploits of Bodhisattva) of Kṣemendra, briefly called *Avadāna-kalpalatā*, contains forty-eight chapters called Pallavas (leaves). In it the poet describes the exploits of Bodhisattva in verses. Of the metres, Śloka, which is commonly used in a narrative, is predominant and diversification is effected by various other metres.

Though the traditional Avadāna literature must have been drawn upon by Kṣemendra, yet his credit lies in giving us a sustained poetical form of the stories. He takes recourse to none of the artificialities that disfigure the poetical compositions of the age of decadence to which he belongs. Kṣemendra proves to be an impressive story-teller, and this huge work bespeaks his indefatigable energy as a writer and his mastery over the legendary lore of the Buddhists.

An account of Maṅkha s found in his *Śrīkaṇṭha-carita*. We learn that his father was Viśvāvarta, son of Manmatha, and that his brothers Śṛṅgāra, Bhaṅga and Alaṅkāra (or Laṅkaka) were scholars and officials under the government. Maṅkhaka mentions his teacher Ruyyaka who was the author of the well-known rhetorical work entitled *Alaṅkāra-sarvasva*. The author of the *Śrīkaṇṭha-carita* is probably identical with Maṅkha, the compiler of the lexicon called *Anekārtha-kośa* popularly known as *Maṅkha-kośa*. The poet's brother Alaṅkāra is stated to have been a minister of king Jayasiṃha of Kashmir (1127-1150 A.D.). So, Maṅkha may be assigned to a period between the last quarter of the eleventh century and the third quarter of the twelfth.

The *Śrīkaṇṭha-carita*[2] is a huge work being composed in

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1. Bibliotheca Indica ed., Calcutta, 1888.
2. Ed. Durgaprasad & Parab. with Jonarāja's commentary.

twenty-five cantos. It has for its theme the Purāṇic legend of the destruction of the demon Tripura by Śiva. As usual in the court-epics, especially of the age of decadence, the story is of very little consequence. It is just a means to the end of the poet's deliberate display of literary skill. The poet's lack of the sense of proportion is evident in the first canto the whole of which is devoted to the conventional preliminaries of a Kāvya, viz. prayers and benedictions. The subject of good and bad people, which may be appropriate in a work on morality rather than in an epic poem, occupies the next canto. An account of the poet's family and place of residence is given in canto III. The reader is apt to lose his patience in going through so much matter before reaching the story in canto IV. The following canto also carries the narrative a little further. But, the poet again lapses into the habit of digression and the reader's patience is strained to the utmost limit by the next eleven cantos which describe the spring season and other beauties of nature with the usual amorous sports. The thread of the story reappears in canto XVII which, followed by seven cantos, describes the exploits of Śiva culminating in the burning of Tripura.

As a worthy disciple of Ruyyaka, Maṅkha shows ability in the use of figures of speech. His metrical skill is undoubtep. His language testifies to his learning. These remarks are nearly all on the credit side of the poet. At worst, he is nothing but a conventional writer assiduously applying himself to the production of a Mahākāvya in conformity with the canons of poetics. He shows no originality in handling the theme. The account of his personal history, given in canto III, and of an assembly of learned men (in the last canto) held under the patronage of his brother, Alaṅkāra, on the occasion of the completion and recital of his poem, are of some historical importance though tediously long. In the last canto, we find the names of some scholars, poets and officials.

Ratnākara, son of Amṛtabhānu, flourished under Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa (832-44 A.D.) and Avantivarman (855-84

A.D.) His *Hara-vijaya*[1], a Mahākāvya in fifty cantos, is based on the story of the destruction of the demon Andhaka at the hands of Śiva. The demon was born blind to Śiva, but obtained eyesight as a result of hard penance. After this he proved to be a constant source of trouble to gods whereupon Śiva came to their rescue, and slew him.

As usual with the Mahākāvyas of the period of decline, in the *Hara-vijaya* the matter is subordinated to the manner. It seems that the poet is anxious to show off his erudition and skill. He devotes full six cantos (I-VI) to a description of the city of Śiva, his violent dance, the seasons etc. Cantos IX-XVI are a record of the poet's knowledge of polity. The poet parades his knowledge of amorous practices in cantos XVII-XX and XXII-XXVIII. The Kāvya is reeking with the conventional description of nature, the banalities of the lover's activities and so on. All this, coupled with Citrabandhas (XLVIII), makes the work a perfect masterpiece of bad taste and lack of sense of proportion. The size of the work is forbidding, and is an example of the quality being sacrificed for quantity. In his Kāvya Ratnākara succumbed to the pernicious influence of Māgha with whose artificial poem *Śiśupāla-vadha* his familiarity is certain. Ratnākara himself speaks of his imitating Bāṇabhaṭṭa. These facts sufficiently explain his errors of taste.

On the *Hara-vijaya* there is a commentary, called *Viṣama-padoddyota*[2], by Rājānaka Alaka, son of Rājānaka Jayānaka, who is also called Alaṭa or Allaṭa. Alaka or Alaṭa is supposed by some to have been the continuator of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* left unfinished by Mammaṭa.

Ratnākara is credited with the authorship of also two small poems entitled *Vakrokti-pañcāśikā*[3] and *Dhvanigāthā-pañcikā*.

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1. Ed. Durgaprasad and Parab, with comm. by Alaka, Bombay, 1890.
2. See Peterson's Reports on search of Sanskrit manuscripts, II, and Bühler's Kashmir Report.
3. See account under Miscellaneous poems below.

The *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*[1], in twenty cantos, is another Mahākāvya produced in Kashmir. Its author Śivasvāmin,[2] son of Arkasvāmin, was a court-poet of king Avantivarman in the latter half of the ninth century A.D.

In the selection of the theme, Śivasvāmin leaves the beaten track. He takes a Buddhist story of the *Avadāna-śataka*,[3] and changes it almost beyond recognition. The poem deals with the story of the south Indian king Kapphiṇa who invades Śrāvasti, the territory of Prasenajit, and is eventually converted to Buddhism through a miracle. As in other Mahākāvyas of this age, here too the narrative is slight and the poet lavishes all the poet's stock-in-trade in order to weave out a full-fledged poem in accordance with the prescriptions laid down in rhetorical works.

The poem opens with a description of king Kapphiṇa[4] and his capital. A spy delivers the news of the vanity of Prasenajit who is, however, reported to be a just ruler. The princes, confused at the news, hold a deliberation about war a threat of which is communicated to Prasenajit through a messenger. At this juncture Kapphiṇa is persuaded by a Vidyādhara to visit the Malaya mountain to hit upon a plan of invasion. The king leads an expedition against Prasenajit, a protracted war ensues and Kapphiṇa is, in course of time, converted to Buddhism.

1. Ed. Gaurishankar, Lahore, 1937.
2. From an anonymous verse, noted in Bhandarkar's Report (1897), p. xi, we learn that he wrote as many as seven Mahākāvyas besides numerous verses and many dramatic works.
3. Versions of the story occur also in the *Manorathapūraṇī*, a commentary *Aṅguttara-nikāya* and in the commentary on the *Dhammapada*.
4. Some suggest Kāmpilya as the place that gave rise to the name. Chinese Kapphiṇa or Kamphilla is associated with the constellation Scorpio a prayer to whose Regent is supposed to have caused the birth of the king. Some scholars think that the name is derived from 'Kalpa' which means a cycle of time or 'competent'; it is suggested that the latter meaning is more appropriate to one who was one of the eminent disciples of the Buddha.

The sojourn of the king to Malaya has been contrived as a means for the poet to show off his power of description. The poet cannot rest content with the description of one season; so he takes recourse to the artifice of uniting all the seasons to whose description he devotes a whole canto. The account of the enjoyment of the soldiers in the army of Kapphiṇa is given in the typical manner of a Mahākāvya. There are the usual sunset, moonlit night, sunrise, aquatic sports, the drinking bout and sensual pleasures in conformity with the prescriptions of Kāmaśāstra and so on. In his laboured style, the use of Citra-bandhas and various figures of sound and sense he betrays the influence of Bhāravi, Māgha and even his contemporary Ratnākara. An evidence of the artificiality of Śivasvimān's style is furnished by the fact that the word Śiva occurs in the concluding verse of each canto of the poem. This is another proof of the influence of his noted predecessors on him. Bhāravi, Māgha and Ratnākara use the words Lakṣmī, Śrī and Ratna respectively in the last verse of every canto of their works.

The spy delivering the news of Prasenajit at the commencement of the *Kappiṇābhyudaya* unmistakably reminds one of the similar incident in the opening of the *Kirātārjunīya*. Artistic and poetic touches are not altogether absent in Śivasvāmin's poem, but these are hedged in by artificialities and long-drawn-out descriptions that exhaust the reader's patience. The poet has unflagging energy in displaying his learning. In canto XIX he inserts a long hymn to Buddha in Prākrit. Though the poet was obviously influenced by the Pāli canonical literature, yet an extensive hymn in Prākrit in a Sanskrit poem is clearly a misfit.

The *Rāvaṇārjunīya* or *Arjuna-rāvaṇīya*[1] of Bhaṭṭa Bhīma, who is also called Bhaumaka or Bhauma and is believed to have been a Kashmirian, is an artificial production. It is like the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* along with which it is designated as a Śāstra-

1. Ed. Sivadatta and Parab, NSP, Bombay, 1900.

kāvya by Kṣemendra in his *Suvṛtta-tilaka*. Being mentioned by Kṣemendra, the poet may be supposed to have flourished in the eleventh century A.D. or earlier. The poem, in twenty-seven cantos which have not been recovered in the complete form, narrates the story of Rāvaṇa's grim fight with Kārtavīryārjuna. As it relates the story it illustrates the rules of Pāṇini's grammar in the order of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

The *Hara-carita-cintāmaṇi*[1] of Jayadratha[2] is a huge work. Its chapters are called Prakāśas. The printed text is incomplete running up to the forty-fifth verse of the thirty-second Prakāśa ; there is no colophon to the thirty-second chapter nor any final colophon.

This work describes the various myths and legends connected with Śiva, as will be evident from the following names of the Prakāśas :—

> Jvālāliṅgāvatāra, Kāladāha-varṇana, Kālakūṭakavalīkāra, Nandirudra-varṇana, Andhakāsura-vara-pradāna, Ardhanārīśvarodaya, Cakra-pradāna, Dakṣavara-pradāna, Tārakāvadhe suramahotsava, Vijayeśvarā-vatāra, Piṅgaleśvarāvatāra-varṇana, Vitastāvatāra, Tripuradāhe Svyambhūnāthā-vatarā, Kapaṭeśvarā-vatāra-varṇana, Caṇḍarudrāvatāra, Śravaṇadvādaśī-varṇana, Garuḍānugraha, Śrīgaṇapaty-avatāra, Upamanyu-vara-pradāna, Vāsudeva-vara-pradāna, Mahākālāvatāra, Devīsvarūpa-lābhaḍiṇḍi-mahodarā-vatāra-varṇana, Durgādevī-māhātmye Śum-bhādi-varṇana, Śukra-vara-pradāna, Jīmūtavāhana-varapradāna, Vikramatuṅgāya vara-pradāna, Śab-daśāstrāvatāra, Gaṅgāvatāra-varṇana,........................

1. Kāvyamālā, 61, Bombay, 1897.
2. This name, and not Jayaratha, as is usually found in books on History of literature, occurs in the printed text. The epithets Rājānaka and Mahāmaheśvara indicate that the author was a Kashmirian. This Jayadratha was perhaps brother of Jayaratha, the commentator on Ruyyaka's *Alaṅkara-sarvasva* and Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*. (See account of Jayaratha in chapter IV.)

Śivadharmādyuddhāra, Nānā-śāstrebhyaḥ Śivarātri-kathā-saṃgraha,.........

The work, mostly in the common Śloka metre, is insipid and of the nature of a Purāṇa or Māhātmya rather than a Kāvya. As usual with the poets of the age of decline, the sense of proportion sometimes deserts Jayadratha ; the ninth chapter has the unwieldy number of two hundred and seventy-six verses. Written in wooden conformity with the established norms of the Mahākāvya, the work, however, has some merit from the point of view of Śaivism, and the beliefs and practices connected with it. Some of the legends are associated with places of pilgrimage in Kashmir.

Persian sources inspired some poets of Kashmir to compose poems under their Muslim patrons. One such poem was the *Kathā-kautuka*[1] of Śrīvara. It is, in the words of the poet himself, a Sanskrit version of a story narrated in the works of Muslims.[2] The story is that of the well-known Yusuf and Zulaikhā as narrated by Mullā Jāmi.[3] The poem consists of fifteen chapters called Kautukas. The poet composed the work in 1505 A.D. for the edification of his patron Muhammad Shāh.[4]

The work reveals an interesting blend of the Śiva cult with the Persian story which again appears to have been derived from the old Hebrew source. The last canto of Śrīvara's work glorifies Śiva. The story is briefly this.

Zulaikhā, a princess of exquisite beauty, dreams of a young man of superb handsomeness and falls desperately in love with him. She awakes next morning, and since then has been disconsolate. Unable to bear the pangs, she opens her heart at

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1. Ed. Sivadatta and Parab, NSP., Bombay, 1901.
2. *viracyate yāvana-śāstra-baddha-kathā mayā*
   nirjara-bhāṣaye-yam/I.2.
3. *krameṇa yena....malājyāmena varṇitaḥ/*
   tenaiva hi mayā so'yaṃ ślokenādya nirūpyate// I.3
4. Keith and De, in their *History of Sanskrit Literature*, appear to be wrong in stating that it was composed under Zain-ul-' Abidin. For correct information, see *Kashir* by G.M.D Sufi, pp. 167, 191.

first to her nurse and then to her father. Her anguish is augmented by another vision of the object of her love. In yet another vision she is informed that he is Grand Vizier of Egypt. On hearing this her father sends her there. She receives a warm welcome, but, alas, the Vizier is not the idol of her imagination. All the pomp and grandeur of the Vizier's palace fail to bring solace to her sorrowing heart.

Yusuf, son of a very rich man, is by dint of his charming appearance and winsome manners becomes the dearest of all the sons to his father. He grows up to be a fine virtuous young man, but falls a victim to the dastardly conspiracy of his jealous brothers who throw him into a well. Through god's grace he is rescued, and falls into the hands of merchants who go to Egypt and plan to sell him off as a slave.

Zulaikhā, with her longings unsatisfied, proceeds homeward. On way she catches sight of Yusuf, and at once recognises him to be the one for union with whom she has so long been pining. She gets him to herself, and engages herself heart and soul in his service. But Yusuf proves cold, and does not requite her ardent love. This again throws her into an ocean of grief. The authorities throw Yusuf into prison as a punishment. But, the physical privations fail to make his heart relent. In course of time, Yusuf is released, and Zulaikhā tries in vain to attract him by various means. One day, however, perchance her piteous cries melt the heart of Yusuf, and he promises to grant her prayers. Her first prayer is the restoration of her youth and beauty of which she has been deprived as a result of her separation from him. This granted, her next prayer is that she may enjoy his companionship. At this Yusuf, god-centred as his life is, sinks into deep meditation in which he receives the divine command to take her as his wife.

Based on the Persian source is also the *Delarāmā-kathāsāra*[1] of Bhaṭṭa Āhlādaka who has the typically Kashmirian title of Rājānaka. The poet, at the outset, states that he is

1. Ed. Kāvyamālā, 77, Bombay, 1902.

writing in Sanskrit on a theme contained in Muslim works.[1] In a verse (I. 15) of his work, he mentions Sultān Muhammad. A Sultān of this name ruled over Kashmir in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. It is with a story of this Sultān that the work of Āhlādaka commences. It is in thirteen cantos, and some of the verses are missing in the printed text.

The theme of the work is briefly this. While on a hunting excursion a deer warns the Sultān of a great calamity that will befall him. It does happen leaving the Sultān and his wife homeless. They live at a place in dire poverty, the Sultān dragging a miserable existence by collecting and selling fuel. The dark hours of their present life are illumined by the birth of two sons to them. As they are growing up, the lady by a stroke of fortune obtains some wealth. Eventually she comes in contact with a merchant in affluent circumstances. Wealth inevitably brings vice in its train, and the lady develops illicit intimacy with the merchant. Some untoward circumstances drive the sons, who have now attained youth, away from home. In course of their wandering they suffer untold privation. At last, the elder of the two, by a strange piece of gold luck, is installed on the vacant throne of a kingdom. The younger brother is left in the lurch. The newly made king, in the midst of the pomp and splendour of royal life, falls a victim to the machinations of a courtesan, Delarāmā by name, who robs him of his precious possessions and decamps. Forced to leave his capital, he wanders here and there, and eventually succeeds in tracing the whereabouts of Delarāmā. Before he can seize her, she again makes good her escape. A search for her proves futile. The same strange fate that separated the brothers re-unite them much to their delight. They now go to meet their parents. But, alas, their father is reported to be dead and their mother sunk into the mire of debauchery with her paramour, the merchant. At last they repair to Halābha, their native place, and the

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1. *eṣā kathā mausala-śāstra-dṛṣṭā* ....
gīrvṇṇa-vāṇyā kriyate mayādya // I.2
(*Mausala* = Muslim)

elder brother occupies the throne under the name of Ibrāhim while the younger is made crown-prince.

(d) Devotional Poems

There are numerous compositions of this type. The most well-known among them are briefly dealt with below.

Ānandavardhana[1], the celebrated poetician, composed the *Devī-śataka*[2] in one hundred verses in honour of goddess Pārvatī. The verses are notorious for their highly artificial manner, and the matter seems to be of little importance. The language is difficult, and Citra-bandhas disfigure it. It may seem ludicrous that the very author who, in his *Dhvanyāloka*, accords the highest place to suggestion in poetry, should take recourse to mannerisms. Ānandavardhana perhaps excuses himself by his theory that, in the laudation of gods, sentiment occupies a subordinate position. Judging from the *Devī-śataka* we must say that the author, though an excellent critic and theoretician, is but mediocre as a poet. He is more anxious to display verbal tricks than to express devotional fervour.

The *Stotrāvalī*[3] of Utpaladeva,[4] preceptor of Abhinava-gupta, consists of twenty brief hymns in which Śiva is eulogised. The hymns lack poetic or literary distinction being partly simple invocations and partly conventionally ornate compositions.

The *Ardhanārīśvara-stotra*[5] of Kalhaṇa consists of eighteen verses in the elaborate Śārdūla-vikrīḍita metre. Though alliterative, the style is not wholly strained.

1. For personal history and works, see account under Poetics (Ch. IV).
2. Ed. Kāvyamālā, XI.
3. Ed., with Kṣemarāja's comm., in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series No. 15, Benares, 1902.
4. For personal history and works, see account under Pratyabhijñā-śāstra (Ch. VI).
5. Ed. Kāvyamālā, XIV.

The *Īśvara-śataka*[1] of Avatāra and the *Śāmba-pañcāśikā*[2] of an unknown poet are probably of Kashmirian origin. These works, dealing respectively with the eulogy of Śiva and the sun-god, are examples of literary exercise. Mention may be made of the *Sragdharā-stotra* of Sarvajñamitra. In his commentary on this Stotra, Jinaraksita informs us that Sarvajñamitra was a pious monk of Kashmir and reputed for his charitable disposition. It is said that, having given away all his earthly possessions, Sarvajña wandered about as a mendicant. From the Tibetan work, *Pag-sam-jon-zang*, we learn that Sarvajña, though born in Kashmir, received training in the Nālandā monastery where he became proficient in the sciences. The name of the king, to whom he is said to have sold himself, is Vajramukuṭa according to some and Śaraṇa according to others. Some information about Sarvajña is available in Tāranātha's history of Buddhism. The *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* (IV. 210) states that Bhikṣu Sarvajñamitra lived in Kayyavihāra built by king Kayya of Lāṭa or Central and Southern Gujarat, and was subordinate to king Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya of Kashmir (early eighth century A.D.). King Vajramukuṭa, mentioned above, might be identical with Vajrāditya, son of Lalitāditya. King Śaraṇa has not yet been identified.

The *Sragdharā-stotra*[3], a hymn to goddess Tārā, consists of thirty-seven stanzas in Sragdharā metre. Apart from the monotonous sameness of the metre, the Stotra betrays conscious effort for the use of various figures of speech and pedantic expressions. The hymn reflects pious faith, but lacks genuine poetry.

The *Devī-nāma-vilāsa*[4]. of Sāhib Kaula merits a more detailed treatment. It is stated, in the final colophon, to have been composed in Vikrama year 1723 (=1666 A.D.).

1. *Ibid*, XI.
2. NSP ed., Bombay, 1889.
3. Ed., with the commentary of Jinarakṣita in the *Bauddha-stotra-saṃgraha*, by S. Vidyabhusana, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1908.
4. Ed. M. Kaul, Lahore, 1942.

Some biographical information about the author can be gathered from the canto-colophons as well as from the account given by the editor of the *Devī-nāma-vilāsa,* who happens to be a descendant of the author. We learn that Sāhib Kaula was the son of Kṛṣṇa Kaula and Buddhi and brother of Sudarśana and Siddha. His maternal grand-father is stated to have been Śiva Rājānaka of Lābru family. Sāhib's wife was named Śrī Devī. The editor states that Sāhib wrote another work called *Kalpavṛkṣa.* According to him, the following works also are associated with the name of Sāhib Kaula: *Śivasiddhi-nīti Gāyatrī-mantra-bhāṣya, Citsphārasārā-dvaya, Saccidānanda-kandalī, Śīva-śakti-vilāsa, Śārikāstava, Guruvṛtta-cintāmaṇi, Sahajārcana-ṣaṣṭikā, Nijātmabodha, Candra-mauli-stava, Suprabhāta-stava, Gītā-sāra* and *Jātakodāharaṇa.* The author's homage to Śiva in the opening verse of the *Devī-nāma-vilāsa,* his devotion to Śiva and Śakti in the body of the work and the very names of some of the above works, associated with him, clearly testify to his Śaivite persuasion. The provenance of the work was Kashmir, as the author states in the final colophon.

The *Devī-nāma-vilāsa* consists of sixteen cantos each of which is styled Bhakti (division or devotion). It opens with a romantic description of Mount Kailāsa, the abode of Śiva the different parts of whose body are also described. In canto II the poet describes Nandin, the principal attendant of Śiva, the Darbār of Śiva and the homage paid to him by other gods. Canto III contains Nandin's eulogistic hymn in honour of Śiva whom he beseeches to disclose to him the object of his meditation. In the next canto Śiva reveals the glory of his dear spouse Devī, and describes her physical beauty from the crown on her head to her toes. Canto V is devoted to the description of the modes of Devī's worship by various beings created by her, and contains a promise to Nandin to reveal the thousand names of the goddess. In cantos VI to XV are recounted the thousand names along with the explanation of their respective significance. The concluding canto lays down the uses to which the names of

the goddess can be put, and states the merits resulting from their recitation.

The work is a perfect specimen of the decadent Sanskrit poetry. Though the author has attempted to make a departure from the beaten track by writing a devotional work in the fashion of a Mahākāvya instead of the stereotyped hymn, yet he could not get over the artificialities of the Kāvya that were widely in evidence in the age in which he lived. The alliterative language, the highly mannered descriptions of nature and feminine grace, the use of Citra-bandhas like Ardhabhrama, Cakra-bandha, Muraja-bandha, Sarvatobhadra, Padma-bandha etc. all betray the author's attempt at producing a pedantic and laboured work in conformity with the conventional canons. The matter, though bespeaking the devotional fervour of the author, is slight and the manner is his chief concern. The recounting of the one thousand names, and their explanation, covering as many as ten cantos containing a formidable number of over 1,000 verses, are indeed a colossal waste of time according to the modern critic, and exhaust the patience of the reader even with the coolest head. The description of the details of Devī's body starting with her head and ending with her toes is extremely boring. Such an anatomical description of the limbs of her body is extremely inartistic in a poetical composition. The use of a variety of metres and a number of figures of both word and sense no doubt testifies to the learning of the author, but his work remains extremely insipid.

Of the other hymns, available in print, mention may be made of the *Bhāvopahāra*[1] of Cakrapāṇinātha and the *Stavacintāmaṇi*[2] of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa.

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1. Ed., with the commentary of Ramyadeva, in Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies No. 13.
2. Ed., in the same series (No. 10), with the commentary of Kṣemarāja.

(e) Anthologies

Sanskrit rhetoricians define Kośa-kāvya (anthology) as a series of detached verses arranged under different sections. Anthological literature originated in India probably in the eighth century of the Christian era or earlier. The early anthologies are perhaps lost or are yet to be recovered. Among the extant specimens, those compiled in Kashmir occupy a noteworthy position.

The outstanding Kashmirian work of this class is the *Subhāṣitāvalī*[1] of Vallabhadeva. Vallabhadeva's date cannot be fixed with certainty. The explicit reference to his anthology, contained in the *Ṭīkā-sarvasva* (1159-60 A.D.), a commentary by the Bengali Sarvānanda on the lexicon *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, fixes the lower limit of his date in the middle of the twelfth century A.D. The citation, in Vallabhadeva's work, of Jahlana, who is known to have compiled his *Sūkti-mukāvalī* in the sixth decade of the thirteenth century, gives rise to difficulty about fixing Vallabhadeva's date. Again the mention, in the anthology, of the poet Jonarāja, whose Kashmirian affiliation is rendered doubtless by the qualifying epithet Rājānaka, further complicates the issue of Vallabhadeva's date. The Kashmirian Jonarāja is known to have died in 1459 A.D. Under the circumstances, we must assume that either the reference in the *Ṭīkā-sarvasva* is spurious or the *Subhāṣitāvalī* had a later recension into which verses were interpolated.

The *Subhāṣitāvalī* is a huge work containing 3,527 verses, arranged under 101 Paddhatis or sections, and culled from the works of nearly 360 authors. The quoted verses are on a wide range of themes including description of the six seasons and various objects of nature, womanly grace residing in the various parts of a female body, amorous sports, worldly wisdom and humourous sayings and so on. Apart from its value as a repository of varied literary mosacis, it is of

1. Ed. Peterson and Parab, Bombay, 1886.

considerable importance from the point of view of the literary history particularly of Kashmir. Vallabhadeva's work preserves from oblivion quite a number of Kashmirian poets[1] who or many of whom are otherwise unknown.

Another Kashmirian anthology of note is the *Subhāṣita-muktāvalī* or *Sūkti-muktāvalī*. The date of its compilation, recorded at the end of the work, corresponds to 1257 A.D. Though this anthology is generally attributed to Jahlaṇa, yet, in reality, it appears[2] to have been the work of a physician named Bhānu. The fact seems to have been that the said physician, enjoying the patronage of Jahlaṇa, an army commander of the then ruling monarch, out of gratitude associated it with the name of his patron. Happily we get considerable information about the family in which Jahlaṇa was born. From the introductory portion of the work we learn that Jahlaṇa was fifth in descent from one Dādāh who was an army-commander under the Yādava king Mailugi or Mallugi. Son of Lakṣmadeva, Jahlaṇa flourished under king Kṛṣṇa who is known to have been installed in 1247 A.D.

The *Sūkti-muktāvalī*, as pointed out by R. G. Bhandarkar, appears to have come down in two recensions, one shorter and the other longer. The printed edition seems to give the composite text incorporating both the recensions. In this form it consits of 2,790 verses collected from over 240 authors and works. Like the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabha, its contents are arranged under sections called Paddhatis which number 133, and whose themes appear to have been modelled on the earlier Kashmirian anthology.

The name of Śrīvara, disciple of Jonarāja, is well-known in the literary history of Kashmir. An anthology, called

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1. Some of these poets will be mentioned in Appendix I.
2. C.f. *jahlasyārthe vyaraci bhiṣaiā bhānunā seyamiṣṭā* (vide the first concluding verse of the *Sūkti-muktāvalī*.)

Subhāṣitāvalī,[1] is associated with the name of Śrīvara who flourished in the latter half of the fifteenth century. Śrīvara quotes verses written by over 380 poets.

(f) Miscellaneous Poems

Śambhu appears to have been a court-poet of king Harṣadeva of Kashmir (1089-1101 A.D.) This poet wrote the *Rājendra-karṇapūra*[2] (ear-ornament of the lord of kings) which is an eulogy, in seventy-five verses of varied metres, of his patron. Written in a simple style abounding in alliterations and repetitions of words, it is a highly exaggerated panegyric of Harṣa. Some denominative forms, which appear to have been coined by the poet, strike the reader, e.g., kailāsanti (act like Kailāsa), kṣīrodanti (act like the milk-ocean), haṃsanti (act like the swan) etc.

The *Anyokti-muktā-latā*[3] (the creeper of pearls in the shape of covert speech) of Śambhu, author of the *Rājendra-karṇapūra*, contains 108 detached verses written in varied metres. The verses, in which figures of speech like pun, alliteration etc. abound, are allegorical and devoted to description of natural objects, feminine grace etc. About the lovely face of a lady the purport of a verse is this : 'The beauty of Cupid's bow, the radiance of a twig, the charm of a lotus-leaf fluttering gently in breeze, the grace in a golden lotus—if you have a mind to see all this in one place, then, friend, look at the face of the lady with fine eye-brows'. The Cakravāka bird pining in separation is described thus : 'The Cakravāka, emaciated and with

1. Bearing the same name as that of Vallabhadeva's work, it is sometimes confused with that work. For example, MS. No. 203 and 204 of 1875-76 belonging to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, is associated with the name of Śrīvara, but in reality it is Vallabhadeva's work of the same title.
2. Ed. N. J. Kirtane, Bombay, 1872.
3. Ed. Kāvyamālā. II, p. 61 f. f.

his body restless on account of the rays of the sun, shuns the tank, abjures play in lotus-stalks, forsakes the blue lotus, does not take to sport in blooming lotuses ; but with its neck fixed on the lotus-stalk feels fatigued'. The language of this small work is simple, and the word-pictures are impressive.

The *Vakrokti-pañcāśikā*[1] of Ratnākara[2] is a short work in fifty verses written in the form of conversation and repartees between Śiva and Pārvatī in their love-sport. The verses illustrate the figure of speech called Vakrokti in which one deliberately misunderstands the words, used by the other, in order to make a clever retort. The verses bespeak the poet's ingenuity but naturally lacks spontaneity, and, barring the concluding verse, are composed in the Śārdūla-vikrīḍita metre. Though dealing with divine figures, this short work has nothing devotional in it, and the author's only business is to display verbal tricks.

The *Caurī* (or, *Caura*)-*surata-pañcāśikā*,[3] briefly called *Caura-pañcāśikā*, is a well-known erotic poem in Sanskrit. An evidence of its popularity is the existence of at least three recensions of the text. Though of unknown date and authorship, it is generally attributed to Bilhaṇa,[4] the Kashmirian poet.

The *Caura-pañcāśikā*, in fifty stanzas, deals with the theme of secret love and the loveliness of women in different amorous situations. The subject of the poem gave rise to various stories about the authorship of the work, and the occa-

1. Ed. Kāvyamālā, I, p.p. 102-114.
2. For personal history, see account under *Hara-vijaya* in the section on epic poems.
3. Of the many editions, including those texts which contain it in a frame-story, mention may be made of Haeberlin's *Kāvya-saṃgraha*, Calcutta, 1847, and of the Kāvyamālā Series No. XIII, J. Vidyāsāgara's *Kāvyasaṃgraha*, I. It was metrically rendered into English by E. Arnold, London, 1896.
4. The author's name is found also as Cora, Sundara and Vararuci. An account of the personal history oi Bilhaṇa has been given under poems with historical themes above (Vide *Vikramāṇkadeva-carita*.)

sion on which it was composed. In the south Indian recension the text of the *Caura-pañcāśikā* appears in the framework of a longer one called *Bilhaṇa-kāvya* consisting of 164 verses.

In the *Bilhaṇa-kāvya* the scene is laid in the place called Mahilapattana. There reigned a king named Vīrasiṃha whose queen, the daughter of the king of Avanti, gave birth to a daughter called Śaśikalā or Candralekhā who was a paragon of beauty. In course of time, she was placed in charge of the Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa who was to give her education. While studying with the poet, the princess fell in love with him, and eventually they were united in wedlock according to the Gāndharva form. This was followed by their secret enjoyment of various amorous sports. One day in a compromising position the poet was detected by the keepers of the harem and reported against. The king, enraged at the outrage of the modesty of his daughter, ordered the execution of the poet-criminal. Led to the place of execution the poet was asked to say prayers to God. Instead of prayer he made a declamation in eulogy of his beloved recalling the various pleasures enjoyed with her. In course of his impassioned speech, he expressed his desire of getting that very princess as his wife in his future lives. The princess, seeing her lover in this pitiable condition, made up her mind to put an end to her life, a course which every ideal wife should adopt in a similar situation. The queen, informed of her resolve, intervened and at her request the king ordered the poet to be set free : thus he avoided two grave sins, viz., the killing of a Brāhmaṇa and putting a woman to death. The poet and the princess were then allowed to live as man and wife, and the poet was given a part of the kingdom along with elephants, horses, chariots and infantry.

The theme of a teacher falling in love with, and marrying, his student is romantic and the poem is unique in the history of Sanskrit literature. But, the pictures of erotic enjoyments and the loyalty of a wife to her husband—these are all conventional. The diction, however, is not affected, and the metres used are suitable to the theme.

The theme of the above poem has inspired versions of the story not only in Sanskrit but also in Bengali. The main characters in the later works are named Sundara and Vidyā. There is a Sanskrit poem called Vidyāsundara, and of the versions of the story in Bengali poems, that preserved in Bhāratacandra's *Annadā-maṅgala* is the most well-known.

We translate below a few verses of the *Bilhaṇa-kāvya*, in which the condemned lover calls up reminiscences of his beloved.

"Even to-day I remember her with a voice like that of a cuckoo, who, by her gait, tresses and the beauty of eyes, surpasses respectively the female swan, the peacock's tail and the eyes of an intoxicated Cakora bird." (Verse 116).

"Even to-day I remember her, arrived for a great festival in the pleasure-garden along with attendants, frequently casting, with eyes turned aside, glances at me, staying by her side, with trepidation caused by the people near at hand". (118) Finally the chivalrous lover affirms his resolve not to forget the one whom he once loved. He says, "Even to-day Śiva does not give up the deadly poison, the tortoise upholds the earth attached to its back and the ocean holds the unbearable submarine fire ; those who are of noble deeds keep their promise." (124). The lover considers separation from his beloved better than union, because "in union she is alone while in separation the entire world is pervaded by her". "She is in the palace, on every road, in front, behind ; she is on the bedstead, in the different directions, on high and below. She is inside the heart, she is outside it ; indeed there is nothing else to be seen excepting her". (132).

VI.

Philosophical and Religious Literature

As we have seen in Chapter III above, into the complex texture of the Kashmirian society were interwoven diverse religious faiths. Among the orthodox faiths, the most important were Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. Side by side with these Brahmanical faiths Buddhism claimed a considerable number of adherents. Of these different faiths, Śaivism appears to have struck the deepest root in the soil of Kashmir. This is evidenced by the foundation of a distinct school of Śaivism in Kashmir, the school being based on a number of Tantras, whose provenance is uncertain, and also on treatises composed by Kashmirian writers. We propose to deal briefly with this literature here, and to set forth an outline of the dogmas and doctrines of this school.

It is noteworthy that neither the six orthodox philosophical systems nor the heterodox systems of the Bauddhas, Jainas and Cārvākas appear to have been vigorously cultivated in Kashmir. Some works, however, belong to the orthodox Nyāya philosophy as well as to Buddhist logic. Most of the works of the latter class are preserved only in Tibetan translation, their Sanskrit originals being untraceable.

The views of some of these systems, notably Sāṅkhya, Vedānta and Bauddha, have been refuted by the Śaiva philosophers in order to establish their own viewpoints. Śaivism as a philosophical system passed through many vicissitudes in this region. At first the dualistic faith prevailed. This ultimately gave place to monism probably under the compelling influence of Śaṅkarācārya. Some of the philosophers of Kashmir did not rest content by merely writing learned phi-

losophical works. To popularise the quintessence of Śaiva philosophy, they composed philosophical hymns. A remarkable feature of Kashmir Śaivism is that, unlike the orthodox philosophical systems, it does not accept the Veda as the final authority. It allows even a Śūdra to take to the path of liberation. Cosmopolitan in outlook, it makes no distinction between castes or nationalities.

It is not possible to penetrate the thick veil of obscurity that hangs round the beginnings of this school.

It is clear that Śaivism had two successive forms in Kashmir. In the earlier form it belonged to the Pāśupata sect, and preached a dualistic doctrine. It was, to a great extent, supplanted by the Trika system which taught Advaita-tattva or idealistic monism.

The literature of the Trika[1] system can be broadly classified as—

A Āgama-śāstra,
B. Spanda-śāstra, and
C. Pratyabhijñā-śāstra.

Āgama-Śāstra

The beginnings of this Śāstra are obscure. It is believed to have been originally revealed and then handed down by successive teachers to their pupils. The chief of the Tantras belonging to this Śāstra are :—

(i) *Mālinī-vijaya* (or, *Mālinī-vijayottara*),
(ii) *Svacchanda*,
(iii) *Vijñāna-bhairava*,
(iv) *Ucchuṣma-bhairava*,
(v) *Ānanda-bhairava* (lost),

1. The classification given here, is not orthodox. The followers of the system would recognise a threefold division as Parā (works dealing with the doctrinal aspect), Aparā (those dealing with the practical and ritual part) and Parāparā (those which combine the nature of both Parā and Aparā).

(vi) *Mṛgendra*,
(vii) *Mātaṅga*,
(viii) *Netra*,
(ix) *Naiśvāsa*,
(x) *Svāyaṃbhuva*,
(xi) *Rudra-yāmala*.

In the early stages, these treatises were mostly interpreted from the dualistic, even pluralistic, point of view. According to tradition, preserved in Kashmir, the *Śiva-sūtras* (C. 850 A.D.) were revealed in order to negate the dualistic view and to establish that the highest form of Śivāgama taught pure Advaitism. It is believed that Śaṅkarācārya (c. 9th century) visited Kashmir, and profoundly influenced the Śaiva leaders there thus supplying the stimulus that led to the formulation of the *Śiva-sūtras* which formed the foundation of the movement that followed.

The *Śiva-sūtras* thus form the bed-reck on which the edifice of the Trika system stands. The authorship of the Sūtras is unknown, and is attributed to god Śiva himself obviously to impart a halo of sanctity to a work of rather late origin. Sage Vasugupta, who must have lived in the end of the eighth century or beginning of the ninth, is said to have been favoured with the revelation of the Sūtras.

The terse Sūtras naturally necessitated the composition of commentaries. The commentaries, available today, are the *Vṛtti* of unknown authorship, the *Vārtika* of Bhāskara (c. 11th. century) and the *Vimarśinī* by Kṣemarāja,[1] a pupil of Abhinavagupta who flourished probably in the tenth-eleventh century.

It is interesting to note that, as the Trika system got a firm foothold in Kashmir, some of the aforesaid Tantras, teaching dualism, were interpreted in a new light. The principal commentaries by Kṣemarāja, attempting to read Advaitism into the Tantras, are called *Uddyota* on the *Svacchanda*,

1. Identified by some with Kṣemendra, the Kashmirian polymath. Others, however, opine that Kṣemarāja was called Kṣemendra who was different from the above Kṣemendra surnamed Vyāsadāsa.

Netra and *Vijñāna-bhairava*. The *Vṛtti* on the *Mataṅga-tantra* is a commentary of this class.

B. Spanda-s'āstra

The Śāstra takes its name from *Spanda* meaning vibration or activity ; the activity of Śiva, the only substratum of the universe, is supposed to be the cause of all distinctions.

This Śāstra is based on the *Spanda-sūtras* commonly known as *Spanda-kārikās*. These *Kārikās* are, in a way, a running commentary on the *Śiva-sūtras*, the former trying to explain the latter in greater detail without indulging in much of philosophical argumentation. Kṣemarāja attributes the *Spanda-sūtras* to Vasugupta to whom, as stated above, the *Śiva-sūtras* are believed to have been revealed. In reality, however, these seem to have been composed by Kallaṭa, a pupil of Vasugupta.[1]

The remaining works of this Śāstra are commentaries on the *Spanda-sūtras*. Kallaṭa's *Vṛtti* on the *Sūtras*, along with the Sūtras themselves, constitutes what is called *Spanda-sarvasva* or the essence of the *Spanda* system.[2]

One Rāmakaṇṭha was the author of the *Vivṛti* which is an exposition of the *Spanda-sūtras*. He is credited with the authorship of two commentaries, one on the *Mātaṅga-tantra* and the other on the *Bhagavadgītā*, both of which are lost. Rāmakaṇṭha was a pupil of Utpala, the author of the *Pratyabhijñā-kārikās*, who flourished towards the close of the ninth century A.D.

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1. Kallaṭa, in his *Spanda-vṛtti*, states that he explains the *Spandāmṛta* revealed to Vasugupta. The *Spandāmṛta* is supposed by some to have been a work by Vasugupta. But, the word may simply mean 'the nectar in the form of Spanda Philosophy' without referring to any specific work.
2. Kallaṭa is said also to have written *Tattvārtha-cintāmaṇi and Madhu-vāhinī* both of which are commentaries on the *Śiva-sūtras* and appear to have been lost.

Another commentary on the *Spanda-sūtras* is the *Pradīpikā*. The author of this commentary is one Utpala who is generally called Utpala Vaiṣṇava in order to distinguish him from Utpala referred to above. The author of the *Pradīpikā* was later than the author of the *Pratyabhijñā-kārikās*, but earlier than Abhinavagupta (10th—11th century).

Though a commentary on only the first *Sūtra* of the *Spanda-sūtras*, the *Spanda-saṃdoha* of Kṣemarāja explains the substance of the entire work. The same Kṣemarāja wrote also another commentary called *Spanda-nirṇaya*. Kṣemarāja appears to have written two commentaries on the *Śiva-sūtras*, the commentaries being called *Śiva-sūtra-vṛtti* and *Śiva-sūtra-vimarśinī*. The works, entitled *Para-praveśikā* and *Tattva-saṃdoha*, are also attributed to Kṣemarāja. Besides these works, Kṣemarāja wrote commentaries on the *Stava-cintāmaṇi* and the *Utpala-stotrāvalī*.

There is a *Śiva-sūtra-vārtika* by Bhāskara.

C. The Pratyabhijñā-śāstra

This Śāstra is so called from the fact that it considers recognition (*pratyabhijñā*) of the reality as the *sine qua non* for release. It is the Śāstra that gave the Trika the dignity of philosophy. In the earlier works there is a treatment of only the principles. It is in the works of this class that we find, for the first time, argumentations or philosophical reasoning refuting the views of opponents and establishing those of the Trika. Somānanda, the founder of this Śāstra, is aptly called the originator of reasoning. (*tarkasya kartā*).

The basis of this Śāstra is the *Śiva-dṛṣṭi* of Somānanda who was probably a pupil of Vasugupta, and flourished towards the close of the ninth century A.D. The *Śiva-dṛṣṭi* consists of sections called Āhnikas of which the first three and a part of the fourth have survived. A verse of the *Parā-triṃśikā* is said to have been taken from the seventh Āhnika of the *Śiva-dṛṣṭi*. Somānanda is known to have written also a *Vṛtti* or commentary on his own work. This and other works of

Somānanda are lost, and are known only from their names referred to in later works or from passages quoted from them.

A much shorter, but by far the most important, work of this class is the *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā* (also called *Pratyabhijñā-sūtra* or *Pratyabhijñā-kārikā*) by Utpala, pupil of Somānanda and teacher of Abhinavagupta, who is to be distinguished from Utpala Vaiṣṇava, author of the *Spanda-pradīpikā.* Though a summary of the *Śiva-dṛṣṭi*, yet the *Pratyabhijñā*, being more compact in form, superseded the earlier treatise. In course of time, the *Pratyabhijñā* and the commentaries thereon assumed such an importance that the entire Śaiva philosophy of Kashmir came to be known as Prayabhijñā Darśana outside the province.

Utpala himself wrote a *Vṛtti* on his work. Besides, he is known to have composed two more works, entitled *Īśvara-siddhi* and *Ajaḍa-pramātṛ-siddhi.* On Utpala's *Pratyabhijñā-sūtra* Abhinavagupta wrote two commentaries ; one is called *Pratyabhijñā-vimarśinī* or *Laghvī Vṛtti* and the other is entitled *Pratyabhijñā-vivṛti-vimarśinī.* The latter is a commentary on the lost portion of the exposition by Utpala himself.

Outside the above three classes of literature there are other works also. There is quite a number of hymns (Stotras) in which the philosophical doctrines are presented in a devotional form. There are also works dealing with the rites and practices to be observed by a follower of Śaivism.

Abhinavagupta was a prolific writer of whom at least forty-one[1] works are known. Famous alike in the domains of poetics, dramaturgy and philosophy he wrote on all these subjects. Of his philosophical works, the following have been published hitherto :—

1. V. Raghavan thihks, on certain literary evidences, that Abhinavagupta, wrote also two more works hitherto unknown to scholars. The works, according to him, are entitled *Paryantapañcāśika* and *Rahasyapañcadaśikā*. See *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XIV, 1940. pp. 318-328.

Tantrāloka, *Paramārtha-sāra*, *Tantra-sāra*, *Mālinī-vijaya-vārtika*, *Parātriṃśikā-vivṛti*, *Bodha-pañcadaśikā*, *Tantra-vaṭadhānikā*, *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-vimarśinī*.

Besides the above, a work called *Bhagavdgītārtha-saṃgraha* by the same author has also been published.

Covering thirty-seven chapters, of which fourteen have been published so far, the *Tantrāloka* is by far the best known. It deals exhaustively with all matters, ritualistic and philosophical, connected with Śaivism. Besides, it contains valuable autobiographical information. It has a well-known commentary by Jayaratha.[1]

The *Paramārtha-sāra*, as the title suggests, deals with the essential principles of the Trika system. It is, as the author himself states, an adaptation of the Ādhāra-kārikās of Śeṣa Muni.

The *Tantra-sāra* is an epitome of the *Tantrāloka*, a much shorter summary being the *Tantravaṭadhānikā*.

The *Mālini-vijaya-vārtika* is a commentary on some of the obscure verses of the *Mālinī-vijaya-tantra* also called Śrīpūrva Śāstra. A fragment of the Vārtika, discovered hitherto, contains the exposition of the first verse only. This portion embodies a trenchant criticism of some important standpoints of Nyāya philosophy.

The *Parātriṃśikā-vivṛti* (or, *-vivaraṇa*) is a commentator on the *Parātriṃśikā* the text of which constitutes the concluding portion of the *Rudra-yāmala-tantra*, and gives a re'sume' of the whole of it.

Written with the avowed object of enabling the less intelligent of his pupils to have an idea of the essentials of monistic Śaivism, the *Bodha-pañcadaśikā* consists of sixteen verses of which fifteen (*pañcadaśa*) deal with the subject-matter and the sixteenth explains the purpose of such a composition.

1. For personal history, see Chapter IV.

The *Iśvara-pratyabhijñā-vimaraśinī* (briefly called *Vimarśinī* or *Laghvī Vimarśinī*) is a commentary on the *Iśvara-pratyabhijñā-sūtras* of Utpalācārya.

Of the remaining philosophical works of Abhinava, some are available in manuscripts while others are known only from references in other works.

It is interesting to note that Abhinava's works include a a number of hymns which are more philosophical than devotional. These Stotras, in a lyrical garb, set forth the quintessence of the Trika philosophy, and belong to the class of hymns which serve as a medium of popularising the doctrine and dogmas of particular sects. The well-known Stotras of Abhinava's are :

Krama-stotra, Bhairava-stava, Paramārtha-carcā Mahopadeśa-viṃśati, Anuttarāṣṭikā, Paramārtha-dvādaśikā, Dehastha-devatā-cakra-stotra, Anubhava-nivedana.

The *Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya* of Kṣemarāja is a compendium, and is regarded as an important work on the system.

Kashmir Śaivism has much in common with the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy. But, the former differs from the latter in some fundamental principles, as we shall notice in the following re'sume' of the Śaiva philosophy of that valley.

Śiva-Śakti

The superstructure of Kashmir Śaivism rests on two pillars, viz. Śiva and Śakti. Śiva, who is also designated as Parameśvara, Parā Saṃvit, Caitanya or Parama Śiva, is the Ātman or the immutable reality residing in all beings and objects separately as well as in the universe totally. He is the experiencing principle as distinguished from what is experienced or the means of experience. He is eternal and infinite being beyond the limits of time, space and form. He has a twofold aspect, viz., one of immanence and the other of transcendency. He pervades the universe (*Viśvamaya*), but is beyond all universal manifestation (*Viśvottīrṇa*).

The immanent aspect of Śiva is called Śakti which is, therefore, not an independent entity but his creative energy. Śakti has the following principal modes of which there is an infinite variety :—

(1) Cit-śakti —by this Parama Śiva shines by himself like the sun even when there is no object to reveal or shine on.

(2) Ānanda--śakti—It is with the help of this Śakti that the Supreme Lord realises absolute bliss.

(3) Icchā-śakti —the volition which makes Parama Śiva feel supremely able and of irresistible will so that he can do or create something.

(4) Jñāna-śakti —the power by which Parama Śiva brings all objects in conscious relations with himself and with one another.

(5) Kriyā-śakti —this is Parama Śiva's power of assuming all kinds of form.

The universe is manifested by Parama Śiva in his Śakti aspect. He becomes the universe, and he pervades it though he is always transcendent. The universe is manifested when there is *Unmeṣa* or opening of Śakti, its manifestations disappear when there is her *Nimeṣa* or closing up. *Unmeṣa* is also called *Udaya*, *Ābhāsana* or *Sṛṣṭi*. *Nimeṣa* is equated to *Pralaya*. Creation (*sṛṣṭi*) is followed by dissolution (*pralaya*) in a cyclic order, a complete cycle being called a Kalpa.

The Tattvas

Underlying the endless variety of objects and beings in the universe, manifested as a result of the Unmeṣa of Śakti, there are a few factors (*tattvas*). These factors or *Tattvas* are as follows. The five constituents of the material universe are Solidity (*Kṣiti*), Liquidity (*Ap*), Formativity (*Tejas*), Aeriality (*Marut*) and Vacuity (*Vyoman*). These are collectively called *Pañca Bhūtas*.

There are five principles which, appearing in the body, constitute the five motor-organs (*Karmendriyas*), viz., the organ of handling (*Pāṇi*), the organ of locomotion (*Pāda*), the organ of rejection (*Pāyu*) and the organ of creation (*Upastha*).

The five sensory organs (*Jñānendriya*) are the eye, the ear, the tongue, the nose and the skin.

The five subtle elements (*Tanmātra*) of sense-perception are *Śabda* (sound), *Sparśa* (touch), *Rūpa* (form), *Rasa* (taste) and *Gandha* (odour).

The *Antaḥkaraṇa* or the inner organ is constituted by *Manas* (faculty of concretion and imagination), *Ahaṃkāra* (faculty of self-arrogation, the Ego) and *Buddhi* (faculty of judgment).

Prakṛti-Puruṣa.

These are the two principles of the limited individual subject-object. Prakṛti is the source of all kinds of feeling. It affects the experience as pure consciousness or awareness in which there is no action or movement, as a moving passion or as stupefaction or dulness. The limited individual being, that experiences these feelings, is called Puruṣa. The Puruṣas, produced by the Ultimate Reality through the process of Ābhāsa, realise themselves as different and separate from one another. This realisation of theirs is like the realisation of a number of living cells that experience themselves as distinct and separated from one another though they have a common source of life.

It is in the conception of Puruṣa and Prakṛti that the Śaiva system of philosophy makes a notable departure from the Sāṅkhya system. Puruṣa and Prakṛti of the Sāṅkhya are the ultimate realities from which creation proceeds ; they are eternal and unlimited. In the Trika system Puruṣa and Prakṛti are derivatives and, as such, limited. According to the Sāṅkhya, the numerous Puruṣas are independent entities while the Trika system lays down that they are but manifestations of the one Ultimate Reality. Puruṣa of the Sāṅkhya is always unaffected, but, according to the Trika, he is not always unaffected.

Like Puruṣa Prakṛtis also are innumerable, one for each Puruṣa. While the Puruṣa and the Prakṛti of the Sāṅkhya are the uncaused cause of the universe, they are, according to the Trika, produced by Māyā. A Prakṛti is the equipoise of the three Guṇas of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. It is stirred to creative activity for the sake of Puruṣa by Ananta. Prakṛti is independent in its activity, according to the Sāṅkhya. While Prakṛti is one according to Sāṅkhya, it is many according to Trika. On the part of the Puruṣa there is no specific experience of the Prakṛti, but only a vague feeling of something.

The Tattvas of the Trika philosophy, enumerated above, agree with those of the Sāṅkhya. But, as the former regards Puruṣa as a derivative, it recognises the following additional Tattvas.

The additional Tattvas and Māyā.

The following are the six principles of subjective limitation :

(i) Kāla—limitation with regard to duration of presence and simultaneity of experience.

(ii) Niyati—restriction in regard to presence, as in space.

(iii) Rāga—limitation in regard to interest, leading to attachment to some objects or selection.

(iv) Vidyā—limitation as to the sphere of cognition.

(v) Kalā—limitation as to the authorship or power to accomplish, leading to limited activity.

The above five are together called Kañcukas (sheaths or cloaks) which are supposed to envelop the Puruṣa or the limited individual.

Māyā of the Trika system is, unlike the Māyā of the Vedānta creating illusory forms, the limiting, self-forgetting and differentiating power. Through the power of Māyā the phenomenal world comes into being. It is through the force of Māyā again that the above limitations arise, and the infinite experience reveals itself in a number of limited experiences or Puruṣas.

This Māyā is sometimes regarded as the sixth Kañcuka enwrapping the Puruṣa.

The following are the five principles of the universal subject-object :—

(1) Śuddha-vidyā—the principle of correlation in the universal experience between the experiencer and the experienced.

(2) Iśvara-tattva —the principle of identification in the universal experience between what are thus correlated.

(3) Sādākhya tattva or Sadāśiva-tattva —the principle of Being, that from which or in which the experience of Being begins.

(4) Śakti-tattva —the principle of negation and potentialisation of the universal experience.

(5) Śiva-tattva —the principle of the pure experiencer by itself, with all experience of objects and means of experience absolutely suppressed.

Process of manifestation and evolution.

The manifestation of the Universe, as we have seen above, is the expression of the ideas or the experience of Parama Śiva. The process of this manifestation, according to the Trika, is called *Ābhāsana* or *Ābhāsa*. It is much the same as the *Vivarta* of the Vedānta with some marked difference. According to those who recognise *Vivarta*, the appearances are mere names and forms (Nāmarūpa) which are not essentially real, being for ever non-existent in the Supreme Reality which, according to the Vedānta, is Brahman. The advocates of the *Ābhāsa*, however, hold that the appearances are real inasmuch as they are aspects of the ultimate reality which, according to the Trika system, is Parama Śiva. *Ābhāsa* is the name of that process by

which the source, revealing manifestations, itself remains unaffected and undivided.

The order of evolution of the universe, recognised by the Śaivas, is substantially the same as that in the Sāṅkhya though Śaivism has some noteworthy features of its own.[1]

Bondage and liberation

Man's bondage is caused by the ignorance (*ajñāna*) of the reality. According to Kṣemarāja, the soul, which is of the nature of consciousness, considers itself to be finite ; though independent it identifies itself with the body. It becomes oblivious of the unreality of the world apart from Śiva and of its identity with Śiva. Thus, the indwelling pure consciousness in each of us is obscured by unreal *upādhis* or limitations.

The continuous recognition (*pratyabhijñā*) of the reality, viz. man's identity with Śiva, is the only pre-requisite of release or liberation from bondage. The soul, having recognised its oneness with God, enjoys pure bliss. This realisation on the part of the soul is possible through deep yogic meditation. Though the individual soul is nothing but the universal soul, yet the former's recognition of this fact is not redundant but the *sine qua non* of liberation. This may be clear from an analogy. A love-lorn lady is naturally eager to meet her lover. But, the mere presence of the lover by her side brings her no solace. She must recognise him to be her lover in order that her anguish may be assuaged.

Abhinavagupta recognised three classes of emancipated souls, viz.

(i) those merged in the Supreme (*pramukta*),

(ii) those united with him in his manifested phase (*aparamukta*), and

(iii) those yet residing in the body (*jīvanmukta*).

Liberation, according to the Sāṅkhya, can be attained through the correct knowledge of the twenty-four categories (*tattvas*) of

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1. For details, see K. C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta.*

this system as distinct from the self. The Trika criticises this view by holding that this knowledge of distinction is possible neither in Prakṛti nor in Puruṣa; the former is insentient while the latter is absolutely passive.

As we have said in the beginning of this chapter, no system of philosophy, orthodox or heterodox, other than Śaivism appears to have been extensively cultivated in Kashmir although there are some works on these systems. Jayanta Bhaṭṭa is the outstanding figure in the domain of orthodox philosophy, his special field having been Nyāya. From his own account, set forth in the *Nyāya-mañjarī*, we learn that Jayanta's ancestors were Bengali. We are further told that one of his ancestors migrated to Kashmir and that Jayanta's grandfather, Kalyāṇasvāmin, after performing a sacrifice, got the grant of the village of Gauramūlaka. In a verse[1] of the *Nyāya-mañjarī* Jayanta mentions king Śaṅkaravarman (883-902 A.D.). The use of the finite verb, in the said verse, in *Liṭ*[2] tends to indicate that the event, referred to, did not take place before the eyes of Jayanta. The fact, however, seems to be that Jayanta wrote this work while incarcerated under the orders of the said king; this event is referred to in a verse[3] of the *Nyāya-mañjarī*. Jayanta's father's name is mentioned as Candra.

According to the testimony of the *Kādambarī-kathāsāra*, written by Abhinanda, son of Jayanta, Śaktisvāmin, Jayanta's great grand-father, was a minister of king Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya of the Karkoṭa dynasty in the middle of the eighth century.

That Jayanta attained great celebrity by the time of Gaṅgeśa, the renowned neo-logician of Mithilā of the thirteenth century, is proved by the reverential reference by the latter to the former as *jarannaiyāyika* (hoary logician).

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1. *tadapūrvamiti viditvā nivārayāmāsa dharma-tattvajñaḥ/*
rājā śaṅkaravarmā na punar-jainādi-matam.//
2. Used to indicate a past event that took place beyond the eyes of the speaker.
3. *rājñā tu gahvare' smin-naśabdake bandhane vinihito'ham /*
grantha- racanā-vinodād iha hi mayā vāsarā gamitāḥ.

Jayanta's homage to Śiva, in his work, reveals his Śaivite persuasion. But, he does not appear to be a follower of the Trika system either of the Pratyabhijñā or of the Spanda school. On the contrary, he seems to be averse to monism. He was a Brāhmaṇa logician who, in his *Nyāya-mañjarī*, an independent exposition of the Nyāya-sūtras, took great pains to combat the heterodox views of the Buddhists who appear to have exercised powerful influence on the contemporary society. The following verse of the *Nyāya-mañjarī* (7th. Āhnika) is a bitter satire directed against the inconsistencies between the practices and profession of the Buddhists :

nāstyātmā phala-bhoga-mātram-atha ca svargāya caityārcanam
saṃskārāḥ kṣaṇikā yuga-sthitibhṛtaścaite vihārāḥ kṛtāḥ /
sarvaṃ śūnyam-idaṃ vasūni gurave dehīti cādiśyate
sauddhānāṃ caritaṃ kimanyad iyatī dambhasya bhūmiḥ parā. //

The author, in a bantering manner, holds that the Buddhists one the one hand, deny the existence of soul, while, on the other, construct *caityas* (towers) for attaining heaven. While holding everything to be momentary, they build monasteries designed to last for an age. They say that all this is a void, but ordain that wealth should be given away to the preceptor.

Taking a bird's eye view of the contents of the *Nyāya-mañjarī*[1] we find that Jayanta minutely discusses the nature of words and their meanings. In explaining verbal knowledge he totally rejects the Anvitābhidhāna of the Mīmāṃsakas of the Prabhākara school ; according to their view, words do not express their sense generally but connectedly, i.e., they have a power to denote not only things but also their purport or connexion along with them. Jayanta partially dismisses the Abhihitānvaya-vāda of the Bhāṭṭa school of Mīmāṃsakas accord-

1. Ed. Vizianagram Sanskrit Series, 1895.
Also published by Calcutta University with Bengali translation (Vol. 1 in 1939).

ing to whom verbal knowledge is dependent upon connexion which is automatically understood among the meanings conveyed by words individually in a sentence. He seeks to amend the latter view by recognising *tātparya* as a function which makes us realise the connexion among the meanings of the constituent words in the form of the import of the entire sentence.

It should be noted that Jayanta rejects the idea of Sphoṭa which, according to the grammarians, is the essence of sound revealed by a letter, word or sentence.

Jayanta criticises the doctrines of *apoha* (knowledge of a thing by the exclusion of its opposites), *kṣaṇa-bhaṅga* (momentary existence), *śrutyaprāmāṇya* (denial of Vedic authority) and *īś varabhaṅga* (denial of the existence of God) ; these doctrines were advocated by Kalyāṇarakṣita and Dharmottara.

Jayanta attempts to refute the view of the Buddhists that there are only two means of valid knowledge, viz. Pratyakṣa (perception) and Anumāna (inference). He criticises also their objection to the existence of soul and their insistence on the unreality (*śūnyata*) of the external world.

Jayanta's other work on Nyāya philosophy is the *Nyāya-kalikā*.[1] That it was a well-known treatise is testified to by its mention by Gunaratna in the *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya-vṛtti* (1409 A.D.) It gives a bare outline of the author's exposition, set forth in greater detail in his other work, of Gotama's *Nyāya-sūtra* dealing with sixteen categories. In the concluding verse, the author states that the work is meant for beginners (*bāla-vyutpattaye*).

Bhāsarvajña, author of the *Nyāya-sāra*, was probably a Kashmirian. His name resembles that of the Kashmirian Sarvajñamitra who composed the well-known Sragdharā-stotra. Most of the manuscripts of the *Nyāya-sāra* and of

1. Ed. Gopinath Kaviraj, Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts, Benares, 1925.

its commentaries have been found in Kashmir or its neighbouring places. Bhāsarvajña's date has not yet been fixed with certainty. His work reveals his Śaivite persuasion; he opens it with a salutation to Śiva and ends it with the conviction that salvation can be attained only through the sight of Śiva. His work also betrays Buddhistic influence. Both Śaivism and Buddhism reached the pinnacle of glory in Kashmir towards the close of the ninth century A.D. This has led some scholars to think that Bhāsarvajña flourished about this time.

The *Nyāya-sāra*[1] is a short tract on logic. In consonance with the contemporary practice, Bhāsarvajña deals only with Pramāṇa or sources of valid knowledge. According to him, Pramāṇa is of three kinds, viz. Pratyakṣa (perception), Anumāna (inference) and Āgama (scriptural testimony). Thus he makes a departure from the *Nyāya-sūtra* which recognises a fourth Pramāṇa, viz. Upamāna (comparison). The threefold division of Pramāṇa is in line with the philosophy of the Sāṃkhya school and of the Jainas, but differs from that of the Buddhists who recognise only two sources of valid knowledge, viz. perception and inference. Like the Bauddha and Jaina writers Bhāsarvajña divides inference into Svārthānumāna (that for the sake of one's self) and Parārthānumāna (that for the sake of others). Like them again he describes fallacies of minor term (*pakṣābhāsa*), fallacies of example (*dṛṣṭāntābhāsa*) etc. The topics like Chala, Jāti etc., which occupy a prominent place in the *Nyāya-sūtra*, are dealt with by Bhāsarvajña in connexion with Parārthānumāna. He deals, at considerable length, with Vāda or a mode of argumentation in a dispute between two parties. Liberation (*mokṣa*), according to Bhāsarvajña, consists in the final deliverance of the soul from pain and attainment of eternal bliss.[2] In this his view agrees with that of the Bhāṭṭa school or Mīmāṃsakas according to whom bliss can

1. Ed., with the *Nyāya-tātparya-dīpikā* commentary of Jayasiṃha Sūri, by S. C. Vidyabhusana, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1910.
2. *anena sukhena viśiṣṭā ātyantikī duḥkhanivṛttiḥ puruṣasya mokṣaḥ*| *Nyāya-sāra*, p, 41.

be eternal, but differs from that of Gautama who denies the eternality of pleasure.

From the foregoing sketch of the contents of the *Nyāya-sāra* the influence of the Buddhist and Jaina logicians on Bhāsarvajña is evident.

As many as eighteen commentaries on the *Nyāya-sāra* are known—a fact which sufficiently testifies to its popularity. Of the commentaries, the *Nyāya-kalikā* is by the Kashmirian Jayanta Bhaṭṭa.

Ravigupta, a poet, dialectician and Tāntric teacher, is known to have been born in Kashmir. Preceptor of the Tāntric monk Sarvajñamitra, author of the *Sragdharā-stotra*, Ravigupta appears to have flourished about the first quarter of the eighth century A.D. His work on logic, the *Pramāṇavārtika-vṛtti*, is a gloss on Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇa-vārtika*. Unfortunately the original work of Ravigupta has not yet been recovered. Its Tibetan translation is preserved in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*.

Dharmottarācārya appears to have flourished in Kashmir about the middle of the ninth century A.D. He was a pupil of Kalyāṇarakṣita and Dharmākaradatta. He is mentioned by Ratnaprabha Sūri, author of the *Syādvāda-ratnāvatārikā* (c. 1181 A.D.) Dharmottarācārya wrote the following works :—

(i) Nyāya-bindu-ṭīkā[1]	—a commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Nyāya-bindu*.
(ii) Pramāṇa-parīkṣā	—It is preserved in Tibetan translation in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*, the original work being untraceable.

1. Published in Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta.

(iii) Apoha-nāma-prakaraṇa—it deals with the determination of a thing by the exclusion of its opposites. The original work has not been traced. Its Tibetan translation exists in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*.

(iv) Paraloka-siddhi —proof of the existence of the other world. Its Tibetan translation only is found in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*. The translation was prepared during the lifetime of Harṣa Deva, king of Kashmir (1089-1101 A.D.).

(v) Kṣaṇa-bhaṅga-siddhi —proof of the momentariness of things. Its Tibetan translation alone is preserved in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*.

(vi) Pramāṇa-viniścaya-ṭīkā—a commentary on the *Pramāṇa-viniścaya* of Dharmakīrti. Its Tibetan translation, prepared by the Kashmirian Paṇḍita Parahita Bhadra, is preserved in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*, and the Sanskrit original has not been recovered.

Arcaṭa, author of the *Hetubindu-vivaraṇa*, appears, from the concluding portion of the work, to have lived in Kashmir. From the beginning of the same work we learn that he was a Brāhmaṇa. The Sanskrit original of the work has not come to light. Its Tibetan translation, which is stated to have been prepared in Kashmir, is preserved in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*.

Arcaṭa's work is a commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Hetu-bindu*, and is divided into four chapters dealing respectively with identity (*svabhāva*), effect (*kārya*) non-perception (*anupalabdhi*) and explanation of the Six Characteristics (*ṣaṭ-lakṣaṇa-vyākhyā*).

Dānaśīla or Dānaśrīla is known to have been born in Kashmir. He was a Buddhist preceptor at the Jagaddal monastery of Bengal in the reign of king Mahīpāla (c. 988-1038 A.D.). Dānaśīla's work, *Pustaka-pāṭhopāya*, on the method of reading books, is preserved in Tibetan translation, prepared by the author himself, in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*.

Śaṅkarānanda was born in a Brāhmaṇa family in Kashmir sometime towards the middle of the eleventh century A.D. He wrote the following works on logic :—

(i) Pramāṇa-vārtika-ṭīkā —a gloss on the *Pramāṇa-vārtika* of Dharmakīrti. The original work is not available. It is preserved in Tibetan translation in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*.

(ii) Sambandha-parīkṣānusāra —a commentary on the *Sambandha-parīkṣā* of Dharmakīrti. It exists only in Tibetan translation in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*.

(iii) Apoha-siddhi —proof of the existence of a thing by the exclusion of its opposites. The Sanskrit original is lost. Its Tibetan translation, prepared by the Kashmirian scholar Manoratha, exists in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*.

(iv) Pratibandha-siddhi —proof of casual connexion. This work is not traceable. Its Tibetan translation is preserved in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*.

Jinamitra, a native of Kashmir, is known to have visited Tibet in the company of Sarvajñadeva, Dānaśīla and such other celebrities of the day, and helped the local scholars in translating Sanskrit books into Tibetan. Jinamitra flourished towards the close of the tenth century A.D. His work, *Nyāya-bindu-piṇḍārtha*, setting forth the purport of Dharmakīrti's *Nyāya-bindu*, is preserved in Tibetan translation in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*. The Sanskrit original is untraceable.

Ratnavajra, author of the *Yukti-prayoga*, was born in a Brāhmaṇa family of Kashmir, which embraced Buddhism. A profound scholar in the Buddhist literature. Ratnavajra travelled to Magadha and received the royal diploma of the university of Vikramaśilā. Then he returned to Kashmir whence he went to Tibet where he was honoured as Ācārya. He flourished probably in the tenth century A.D. The Sanskrit original of his work, entitled *Yukti-prayoga* (application of reasoning), has not been recovered. It exists in Tibetan translation in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*.

Besides hymns dealing with philosophical doctrines, Kashmir produced also metrical works for the clear exposition of aspects of philosophy. One such work is the *Nareśvaraparīkṣā*[1] of Sadyojyoti. The author, believed to be a Kashmirian, mentions, in the colophon, one Ugrajyoti as his preceptor. We know practically nothing about the personal history of the author. The great pains he appears to have taken in order to refute the views of the Buddhists tend to indicate that, at his time, Buddhism was a powerful force in Kashmir to reckon with. It was in the period between the eighth and the ninth

1. Ed, M. Kaul, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. 45, Srinagar. 1926, with Rāmakaṇṭha's cammentary called *Prakāśa*.

century that Buddhism began to decline in that valley. We may, therefore, assume that the author flourished prior to the eighth century A.D. Besides the above work, Sadyojyoti is credited with the authorship of also the Bhoga-kārikās and the Paramokṣa-nirāsakārikās. He also wrote commentaries on the *Rudratantra* and the *Svāyaṃbhuva-tantra*. The subject-matter of these Tantras is epitomised in his two works called *Tattva-saṃgraha* and *Tattvatraya*.

The *Nareśvara-parīkṣā* is written in three chapters called Kāṇḍas, the number of Kārikas (memorial verses) in the chapters being 75, 31 and 183 respectively. As the title suggests, the work is an examination of the individual soul (*nara*) and the Supreme Being (*Iśvara*). The interest and importance of the work lie in the fact that it is virtually the sole extant source of our knowledge about the Dualistic School of Kashmir Śaivism. As we have seen above, the well-known philosophical works of Kashmir deal with idealistic monism.

In the first chapter of the *Nareśvara-parīkṣā*, the author at first tries to prove the existence of the individual self as the knower, doer and enjoyer of the fruits of his actions. Then he goes on to establish that the Individual self is distinct from the Supreme Being. In vindicating his position he takes pains to refute the arguments put forward by the Buddhists and the followers of idealistic monism against his views. The Buddhists deny the external existence of the soul. Sadyojyoti, however, argues that cognition itself is the soul that experiences a diversity of objects and retains their impressions. The momentariness of the soul, as advocated by the Buddhists, is untenable in view of the fact that the following moment of cognition perceives the preceding one ; had the previous cognition been momentary it would not have lasted till the following cognition. The author ingeniously argues to show that all the individual souls are not identical. It is a common experience that, at a particular time, while one individual feels pleasure another feels pain. The very fact that there is

the simultaneous existence of two opposite feelings proves that the individual souls are different from one another ; had they been identical there would have been the same feeling among them.

In the second chapter of the work, the author seeks to establish the existence of the Lord who fashioned the universe. The Mīmāṃsā and Sāṅkhya schools of philosophy deny the existence of such a Lord, their view being that the objects of the world are formed out of matter and action. Sadyojyoti argues that the earth etc., having parts like a jar, are effects which must have required an intelligent architect[1] ; this architect is the Lord. Matter and action, according to him, cannot be the efficient cause because both of them are inanimate and devoid of volition. The author rules out the plurality of the agents of the world, his argument being that the world, despite the varieties in it, tends to fulfil one single aim of its architect. He explains destruction as the period of rest of the principles of creation, such rest being necessary for the restoration of their used up energy.

The author takes recourse to the time-honoured doctrine of Karman in order to refute the charge of unkindness levelled by people against the Lord. The pleasure or pain, experienced by a person, is merely the fruit of his own action done in the previous existence. It is the mercy of the Lord that he dispenses justice to people in accordance with their own actions.

The third and the last chapter of the *Nareśvara-parīkṣā* embodies the author's arguments in support of his view that the Lord is superior to the individual soul. He also tries to refute the counter-arguments of the opponents on some of the intricate questions. In establishing the superiority of the Supreme Being the author holds that a man may be the parent of a child. But, his power is limited only to the physical part of his progeny. Even in this part the adroit arrangement of the different parts requires a superior intelligence. Moreover, the

1. Cf. *kṣmādeḥ sāvayavatvena kumbhavat kāryatā matā* (II, 1).

rationality of the progeny is completely beyond the power of the begetter. Thus, the existence of a more intelligent being than man has got to be postulated. The author rejects the view of the Mīmāṃsā school of philosophy that the Veda is eternal and without any author. He argues that soul is as much a product as rice or wheat is. As rice or wheat is produced by someone, so also the Veda, which is nothing but a conglomeration of sound-units, must have been the work of someone. The Veda contains matters far beyond the ken of human beings so that it was composed by a superhuman being, i.e. the Lord. The Mīmāṃsakas deny the composition of the Veda by the Lord at the time of the total destruction of the old world and the creation of the new one. They do so on the ground that such destruction or creation lacks proof. Against this view our author holds that these can be inferred by observing that men in their thousands are being born and dying every day. The Lord, according to our author, is free from the fetters to which human beings are subjected. He is omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent. Liberation, according to Sadyojyoti, consists in the identity of the individual soul with the Supreme Lord. Man, who is of limited power, cannot attain to liberation unless favoured by Him. The activity of the Lord can achieve things by mere will, but man has to act for such achievements.

Sadyojyoti writes usually with ease though at places his remarks are not intelligible without the help of the commentary. He appears to have written the work for the general reader ; he uses common syllogisms and gives familiar examples. He never indulges in prolixity and pedantry. He, however, could not shake off the influence of his age in which faith in the goblins, magic spells and *mantras* widely prevailed.

The *Kāma-kalā-vilāsa*[1] of Puṇyānandācārya is a philosophical work in metrical form. We do not know anything about

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1. Ed. M. R. Shastri, Kashmīr Series of Texts and Studies, No. 12, Bombay, 1919.

the personal history of the author. He is believed to have been a Kashmirian. From his homage to Maheśa in the opening verse of the work he appears to have been a Śaiva. The *Kāmakalā-vilāsa*[1] or the 'Charm of Kāmakalā', in 55 verses, deals with the nature of the Supreme Energy of Śiva and the effect of knowing it. The Supreme Energy of Śiva is variously designated as Tripurasundarī, Ādyā Śakti, Parā Śakti, Kāmakalā etc. The knowledge of Kāmakalā pervades the universe, but transcends the thirty-six Tattvas or principles (*tattvātīta*). This knowledge is fourfold, viz. Parā, Paśyantī, Madhyamā and Vaikharī. One who acquires it obtains liberation. The author incidentally deals with such topics as Bindu, Cakra, the creation of the subtle element (*tanmātra*), the gross elements (*bhūta*), the senses etc.

The *Vātūlanātha-sūtras*[2], comprising thirteen Sūtras, briefly lays down the means, called Sāhasa or Anupāya, by which one can acquire the real nature or consciousness which is beyond all imagination. *Sāhasa*, literally meaning a sudden event, is the highest state of inspiration. A devotee can obtain it by the grace of the spiritual seer who may chance to cast a merciful glance at him or extend his helping hand. The state of *Sāhasa* is a sort of great vacuum (*mahāśūnya*) entry into which becomes possible by the bursting open of both the slabs (*ubhaya-paṭṭod-ghāṭanāt*). The life-current always flowing through the seven cavities is the upper slab, and the same when flowing through two cavities is called the exhaling breath which is the lower slab. Firm stay in the universal consciousness results from the destruction of the couple. Each of the five gross elements (*pañca-bhūta*) as the perceiver and the perceived is represented as a couple. The indescribable state occurs when the three veils (*kañcukas*) are shaken off. The three veils are *bhāvika* or *tanmātras*, *bhautika* or *pañca-bhūtas* and *śūnya* which last stands either for that which is motionless or for

1. It should be distinguished from the drama of this name attributed to Veṅkaṭabhūpati.
2. Ed. M. Kaul, Bombay, 1923.

that which is identical with desire. Sound alone is glorified from among the manifestations of the appearance and disappearance of the four forms of utterance, viz. Parā, Paśyantī, Madhyamā and Vaikharī. The realisation of the Supreme Brahman, which is identical with transcendental consciousness dawns upon one who has enjoyed the triple happiness in the Mūlādhāra, Payodhara and Ādhāra. Mūlādhāra stands for the great sound appearing as the first expression of consciousness ; it is so called because it is the basis of all kinds of consciousness. Payodhara denotes the same first flutter of consciousness which holds the form of universal consciousness appearing as the support of all things and regarded as milk due to its all-nourishing quality. Ādhāra means destruction as representing the involutive consciousness ; it puts an end to all creatures sentient and insentient. Eternal communion with the real self is brought about by the full development of the four deities, viz. hunger, thirst, jealousy and meditation. Hunger, bent on devouring all things, is to be considered as final dissolution. Thirst, drying up all things, is to be regarded as dissolution. Jealousy, giving rise to the dualistic conception of the perceiver and the perceived, constitutes the existential stage. Meditation, involving desires and ideas, is creation. The dawning of the Great Rays, i.e. Supreme Enlightenment follows the emanation of the twelve currents. Of the twelve currents, six are constituted by the mind and the five sensory organs while the other six are the five motor organs and the intellect. The ungraded inspiration follows the five functions (*caryāpañcaka*), viz. *anāśritā*, *avadhūtā*, *unmattā*, *sarva-kṣayā* and *mahā-vyāptikā*. The great enlightenment (*mahā-bodha*) results in the obliteration of merit (*puṇya*) and sin (*pāpa*) ; it is free from the taint of desires and such ideas as the knower, the knowledge and the knowable. The attainment of unity takes place through the acquisition of the wonderful Mudrā and by concentration on the real nature.

The aim of the author of this little book is to bring home the means of attaining Supreme Light in the terse, yet simple, aphoristic style. Of Vātūlanātha, with whose name the tract is associated, we know practically nothing. From the

fact that neither the author nor his work is mentioned anywhere in the extensive Śaiva literature that developed from the 9th. century to the 12th, it seems that the author flourished after the 12th. century A.D.

The Sūtras have been commented upon by one Anantaśaktipāda.

The *Janma-maraṇa-vicāra*[1] of Bhaṭṭa Vāmadeva is a short work written in prose with verses interspersed, the verses being mostly quotations from various works. The author states, at the end of the work, that he is a pupil of Yogīśvarācārārya. Yogīśvara is probably identical with Yogarāja, the well-known commentator on Abhinavagupta's *Paramārthasāra* and a pupil of both Abhinava (10th-11th cent.) and Kṣemarāja. Thus, Vāmadeva may be supposed to have flourished towards the close of the eleventh century A.D. ; this date accords well with the tradition that makes Vāmadeva a contemporary of Anantadeva who ruled over Kashmir in the latter half of the eleventh century A.D.

The *Janma-maraṇa-vicāra* embodies the quintessence of the Advaita Śaiva philosophy of Kashmir. We give below a rapid survey of its contents. The author starts with his attempt to show that the immanent Parama Śiva who transcends time and space, and possesses the five-fold power of Cit, Ānanda, Icchā, Jñāna and Kriyā, remains unaffected although He constitutes the Universe. The obstacles standing in the way of the individual self's realisation of identity with the Supreme Self are the three kinds of impurity (Mala), viz. Āṇava (when the self is subject to limitations), Māyīya (caused by Māyā) and Kārma (arising from actions). Based on the three kinds of Mala there are three classes of creation technically called Sakala, Pralayākala and Vijñānākala. In Sakala creation the Jīva is engulfed in Āṇava, Māyīya and Kārma Malas. In Pralayākala the Jīva is covered over with Māyīya and Kārma while, in the last-mentioned one, it is enwrapped in Āṇava alone.

1. Ed. M. R. Shastri, Bombay, 1918.

Sakala represents the earthly existence whereas the other two indicate the two stages of evolution through which the Jīva has to pass before recognising his oneness with Parama Śiva. This work also deals briefly with the six Kañcukas (principles of subjective limitation) or sheaths of the Puruṣa, the five-fold power and glory of Parama Śiva as well as their relationship with the six ways to recognition. In course of his discussion, the author describes the four classes of animate beings, viz. those born of the womb (*jarāyuja*), the egg (*aṇḍaja*), the earth (*udbhedaja*) and of perspiration (*svedaja*). He further discusses the development of semen into flesh, blood, arteries, bones etc. and dwells on the process by which the young are developed in the womb till they are born. While discussing the four stages of life, viz. infancy, childhood, youth and old age, the author incidentally deals with the doctrines of Karman and transmigration of soul.

VII.

Miscellaneous Works.

Besides the works, dealt with in the foregoing chapters, Kashmir produced a number of others. The works, with which we propose to deal in this chapter, are not amorphous. But, they do not belong to the classes into which we have divided the entire literary output of Kashmir. The works of a miscellaneous type, composed or supposed to have been composed in this region, comprise grammar, lexicon, drama, Purāṇa, fable, recension of the Rāmāyaṇa and commentary on the Gītā. These works testify to the fact that the Kashmirian scholars traversed quite a considerable part of the vast field of Sanskrit learning.

Kashmir's claim to Candragomin, who is better known as the author of the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*[1] and, for that matter, as the founder of the Cāndra school of grammar, than as a poet and playwright, rests on very slender grounds. In the *Rāja-taraṅ-giṇī* (I. 176) Kalhaṇa refers to one Candrācārya who is said to have revived the study of the *Mahābhāṣya*, and written his own grammar during the reign of king Abhimanyu. Kalhaṇa's Can-drācārya may not be identical with Candragomin by which name the grammarian is usually known. Moreover, the poet-historian does not mention the name of the grammar said to have been composed by the author. The Tibetan work *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang* records Candragomin's censure of the above *Mahābhāṣya*; this is incompatible with Kalhaṇa's reference to the revival of its study as already referred to. If the Tibetan historian Tāranātha is to be believed, then Can-dragomin, the noted grammarian, must be taken to have been a Bengali having been born in Varendra in North Bengal. This

[1] Ed. B. Liebich, Leipzig, 1902.

information is corroborated by the hymn, called *Manohara-kalpa*, composed by Candragomin himself.

Vāmana, the rhetorician, whose life and work on poetics have been discussed in chapter IV above, is also believed to have been co-author of Jayāditya in the composition of the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, a famous commentary on the *Aṣṭadhyāyī* of *Pāṇini*. According to some, Vāmana wrote the first, second, fifth and sixth chapters, while others attribute the last four chapters to him. In support of the conjecture that the rhetorician Vāmana was also the grammarian, some scholars point out traces of the utilisation of the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* in the Pada-śuddhi-prakaraṇa of the last chapter of the *Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti*.

Of Jayāditya's personal history we know nothing. As a joint author of the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* he may be supposed to have been a native of Kashmir.

Kaiyaṭa or Kayyaṭa bears a typically Kashmirian name. Besides, a tradition, current in Kashmir, makes him a resident of Pāmpur or Yechgām, a small town of Kashmir. Of extremely indigent circumstances, Kaiyaṭa is said to have acquired a great proficiency in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. It is said that Kaiyaṭa went to Benares where he vanquished grammarians in a disputation held in a Sabhā (assembly) and, in deference to the wishes of the Sabhāpati (president), wrote the learned commentary, called *Pradīpa*, on the *Mahābhāṣya*. It is a very useful work, and is widely used by grammarians. Some Indian Pandits hold that Kaiyaṭa was a brother of Mammaṭa (11th. century A.D.). As a matter of fact, however, Kaiyaṭa appears to have flourished in a period not earlier than the thirteenth century A.D. in view of the fact that Sāyaṇa-Mādhava of the fourteenth century is the earliest grammarian to mention him.

Some commentaries of no great value on the Kātantra grammar appear to have been produced in Kashmir.[1]

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1. See Bühler : *Detailed Report* etc., p. 74.

The *Nīlamata-purāṇa*[1], of unknown authorship, appears to have existed in two recensions, one shorter and the other longer.[2] In the shorter version, it comprises about 1,400 verses.

This work is the earliest extant record of the history and topography of Kashmir and also of legends connected with it. The authoritative character of the work is testified to by Kalhaṇa who mentions it among the sources utilised by him in the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*. The *Nīlamata* is a work of the Māhātmya type dwelling on the sacredness of the holy places. It contains legends about the early periods of Kashmir contained in the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*.

Nīla, after whom the work has been named, is a Nāga king who is a sort of cultural hero of Kashmir. The work contains, *inter alia*, the doctrines of Nīla imparted to the Brāhmaṇa Candradeva. The ceremonies and festivals, prescribed by Nīla, are generally Purāṇic in character, but some of them are peculiar to Kashmir.

The *Viṣṇudharmottara*[3], a major Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇa, which came into being probably in the period between 400 and 500 A.D., is supposed to have originated either in southern Kashmir or northern Punjab. Kashmir's claim to the work rests chiefly on the following grounds. In this work (I. 162. 33-35) the confluence of the Candrabhāgā and the Tauṣī (a river in Kashmir) is described as holy. In I. 139 Viṣṇu is said to have stationed himself on the Varāha-parvata ; this mountain is in Kashmir. The author (or authors) of this work appears to have had a thorough knowledge of the geography of Kashmir.

The *Viṣṇudharmottara* is a stupendous work divided into three Kāṇḍas each of which is sub-divided into a number of chapters. It appears to be a compilation containing as

1. Ed. (i) R. Kanjilal and J. Zadoo, Lahore, 1924. (ii) K. Vreese, Leiden, (Brill) 1936.
2. On the genesis of the longer version, see Bühler : *Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Skt. Mss.*, p. 38.
3. Ed. Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, 1912.

it does summaries of, and extracts from, earlier works on various branches of Sanskrit literature. It deals with a wide range of subjects such as astrology, astronomy, rules of conduct, legal matters, rules of expiation, grammar, poetics, dancing, music, sculpture, painting, architecture etc.

We are informed[1] that, at the time of Zain-ul-'Ābidin, who ruled over Kashmir from 1422 to 1474 A.D., a *Ratnākara-purāṇa* was discovered. It is said to have been translated into Persian, at the order of the ruler, by Mulah Ahmad who was the poet-laureate of his court. We are further told that Hasan, author of the Persian history of Kashmir, derived materials from the Persian translation of the *Ratnākara-purāṇa* which is now lost. This Purāṇa, of which the author or compiler is unknown, is stated to have contained accounts of thirty-five kings who ruled in Kashmir 5,000 years ago, and also of seven kings who ruled from the end of the second century A.D. to the beginning of the sixth.

Kashmir produced a number of works of the Māhātmya type.[2] They have no literary pretensions, but are valuable for the history and topography of Kashmir and, as Bühler rightly holds, indispensable for a correct interpretation of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

Kashmir produced a version, called *Tantrākhyāyikā*[3], of the lost *Pañcatantra*. Modern research has established that the *Tantrākhyāyikā* was derived not directly from the *Pañcatantra*, but from one of its versions now lost. Of all the extant Sanskrit versions of the *Pañcatantra*, the *Tantrākhyāyikā*, of unknown date and authorship, appears to be the oldest and is believed to be the nearest approach to the original. It should be noted, however, that the *Tantrākhyāyikā* appears

1. See A. Koul In *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol. IX, 1913.
2. For some works of this type, see Bühler in his *Detailed Report* relating to Kashmirian MSS.
3. Ed. J. Hertel, Berlin, 1910 ; trans. Leipzig, 1909.

to have added some stories to the original work. Some of these additions are the stories of the blue jackal (i. 8), the weaver Somilaka (ii. 4), King Śibi (iii. 7) and of the old Haṃsa (iii. 11).

Winternitz holds that the *Tantrākhyāyikā* did not come into being before the third century B.C., the age of Cāṇakya who was minister of Candragupta Maurya.

The *Tantrākhyāyikā* shares the characteristics of ornate literature in Sanskrit. These characteristics are manifest in long compounds, ornate metres, double entendres and such other stocks-in-trade of the Sanskrit poet. It must, however, be observed that it has none of the wearisome artificialities of the prose writings of Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Bāṇabhaṭṭa.

The *Karṇasundarī*[1] of Bilhaṇa[2] is a drama in four acts. Its theme is briefly this. The king falls in love with Karṇasundarī whom he sees at first in a dream and then in a picture. She is brought into the palace by the clever minister. The queen is jealous of the girl, and makes an attempt to marry the king to a boy disguised as Karṇasundarī. Her attempt is foiled by the shrewd minister who succeeds in substituting the real person for the feigned one.

The drama, a work of the minor dramatic type called Nāṭikā, has a conventional theme. The intrigue of the minister, the queen's jealousy and the ultimate success of the king in winning the hand of his beloved girl are all banal, and remind one of Śrīharṣa's *Ratnāvalī* and Rājaśekhara's *Viddha-śālabhañjikā* of both of which Bilhaṇa's drama appears to be a poor imitation.

In the R. T. (II. 16) one Candraka or Candaka is mentioned as a dramatist under king Tuñjina of Kashmir. Nothing is known of this writer. Fragments of his writings are found in Śrīvara's *Subhāṣitāvalī*. Some would identify, not on un-

1. N. S P. ed., Bombay, 1888.
2. For his life and other works, see Chapter V (under Poems with historical themes).

assailable grounds, Candaka with Candragomin who is better known as the author of the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa* and of whom a drama called *Lokānanda* is preserved in Tibetan translation.

A drama, called *Āgama-ḍambara*[1], is attributed to Jayanta Bhaṭṭa[2], a contemporary of king Śaṅkaravarman (883-902 A.D.) of Kashmir. The drama, which is an examination of the doctrines of the six orthodox systems of Indian philosophy, throws some light on the contemporary history of the valley. From it we learn that Śaṅkaravarman had another name Yaśovarman. It also bears out the historicity of the temple of Viṣṇu Raṇasvāmin, set up by king Raṇāditya.

A lost drama, called *Rāmābhyudaya*, is ascribed to Yaśsovarman. The identity of the author is controversial. He is generally supposed to have been the king of Kanauj, bearing this name, who was defeated and slain by Lalitāditya of Kashmir about the middle of the eighth century. As we have seen above, the Kashmirian king Śaṅkaravarman had another name Yaśovarman. There is nothing to preclude the possibility of this drama having been composed by Śaṅkaravarman. That the drama attained considerable popularity is proved by the fact that it is cited, among others, by Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta. Verses from this drama occur in some anthologies and rhetorical works. The drama, as the title suggests, probably dealt with the Rāma-story.

To Maṅkha is attributed the lexicon called *Anekārtha-kośa*[3] which is probably the same as the work popularly known as *Maṅkha-kośa* in Kashmir. It arranges the words according to their final letters and also according to the number of syllables, e.g., *Kāntāḥ*, *Ekākṣarāḥ*, *Dvyakṣarāḥ* etc. The *Anekārtha-kośa* contains a commentary by the author him-

1. See Des. Cat. of MSS. in the Jaina Bhāṇḍārs of Pattan, GOS, Vol. I, p. 51.
2. He is styled Vṛttikāra in the MS. noticed in the above Catalogue.
3. Vienna, 1893.

self who utilises the lexical works of Amara, Śāśvata, Halāyudha and Dhanvantari. There appears to be no reason to doubt, as some do, the identity of Maṅkha with Maṅkha or Maṅkhaka of Kashmir who wrote the epic poem *Srīkaṇṭhacarita*[1] probably between 1135 and 1145 A.D.

To Kṣemendra, the polyhistor, is ascribed a work entitled *Loka-prakāśa*.[2] As a matter of fact, it seems to have been written by a number of persons including Kṣemendra. The mention of Shāh Jehān in Book II indicates that parts of it were composed as late as the seventeenth century A.D. Though Bühler describes it as a Kośa, yet, in fact, it is both a lexicon and a manual dealing with various aspects of the life and administration of Kashmir. In it we find an admixture of Persian and Kashmiri words. It consists of four chapters which deal with the topics mentioned below.

Chap. I —Names of four principal castes and sixty sub-castes and titles of Govt. officers and ministers.

Chap. II —Bills of exchange, bonds, commercial contracts, official orders and so forth.

Chap. III —Miscellaneous things. A list of synonyms of different varieties of fish, birds and mice, of salt, gold ornaments and gold coins. In it verses are quoted from the *Mahābhārata* and there is satire on prostitutes and monks.

Chap. IV —Satire on Kāyasthas, physicians and on Brāhmaṇas converted to Islam. It contains also a list of the districts of Kashmir.

The work is valuable for the study of the social and political life of Kashmir. The difficulty, however, is that we do not

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1. An account of the poem and of its author has been given under 'Court epics' (Chap. V).

2. Vide Bühler's *Detailed Report* etc., p. 46. Extracts of this work published by A. Weber in *Indische Studien*, XVII.

know the precise dates of composition of the different parts of the work.

No account of Kashmir's contribution to Sanskrit literature can be complete without a reference to the Kashmirian version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The fact that this province produced versions of the *Bṛhatkathā* and the *Pañcatantra* is *ipso facto* an evidence of its having been a cultural centre of great renown.

There is a commentary, called *Lāsakī*, on the *Bhagavadgītā*. It appears to have been written by one Rājānaka Lasakāka, the title indicating the Kashmiri origin of the author. In chapter VI we have referred to the commentaries on the *Gītā* by Vasugupta and Abhinavagupta, the work of the former being commonly called *Vāsavī-ṭīkā*. Abhinavagupta's *Bhagavadgītārtha-saṃgraha* has been mentioned in chapter VI.

Epigraphs of a region are valuable not only for the historical information contained in them but also for the literary qualities of their writers. Unfortunately, Sanskrit records of this class are almost absent in Kashmir. It seems strange that in this land of series of rulers, Hindu and Muslim, epigraphs should be rare while these are plentiful in many other parts of India. The only noteworthy inscription[1] of Kashmir, known so far, is the one written in Śāradā script dating back to the year 68 of the Laukika era ; this corresponds to 992 A.D. when queen Diddā was the reigning monarch of Kashmir.

The inscription, as available now, is fragmentary and contains two complete verses, and an incomplete one. Of the verses, one is in the metre Mālinī and the other two are in the elaborate Śārdūlavikrīḍita. From the preserved text we learn that a certain lady had a son Dharmāṅka by name. Dharmāṅka, of charitable disposition, was extremely devoted to his mother. It also records the date on which, in the reign of Diddā, Dharmāṅka honoured his mother by dedicating some charitable work to perpetuate her memory.

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1. See Srinagar Inscription of queen Diddā, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVII, 1847-48, p. p. 153-155.

The identity of Dharmāṅka, the donor of the record, is not known. Being not mentioned in the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* he was, perhaps, not a noted personality. It is not known whether or not Dharmāṅka is identical with Dharmārka mentioned in Kalhaṇa's above work as an official under Tuṅga, the well-known Prime Minister of queen Diddā and her successor Saṃgrāmarāja.

We are informed that another inscription of Diddā's reign is preserved in Sir Pratap Museum, Srinagar.

Kṣemendra left the impress of his versatile talent in the domain of metrics too. He wrote the *Suvṛtta-tilaka*[1], a well-known work on prosody. It is divided into three sections (*Vinyāsa*). In section one, called Vṛttāvacaya, he defines various metres with illustrations drawn from his own works. The next section, called Guṇa-doṣa-darśana, is devoted to a consideration of the merits and defects of poetry ; here the quotations are from various works including his own. In the final section which he calls Vṛtta-viniyoga[2], the author deals with the suitability of particular metres for different kinds of composition. The compositions may be fourfold, viz. Śāstra (science), Kāvya (poetry), Śāstra-kāvya (a combination of science and poetry with the latter predominating) and Kāvya-śāstra[3] (a combination of poetry and science with the latter predominating). Kṣemendra, in general agreement with the poeticians, requires the poets to use a diversity of metres. He, however, points out that the great poets have predilection for particular metres, e.g. Kālidāsa is fond of Mandākrāntā, Bhāravi of Vaṃśasthā, and so on. It is interesting to note that he mentions a poet named Pāṇini who, he says, is fond of the metre Upajāti. It should be added that, in this work, Kṣemendra does not follow the beaten track of the writers on metrics ; he has

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1. Ed. Kāvyamālā, II, p.p. 29-54.
2. *nṛtta-viniyoga* in the edition is an obvious error.
3. As an example of this variety, he mentions the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*.

made his work refreshing by introducing certain matters, e.g. the suitability of particular metres for particular compositions, the fondness of some great writers for particular metres, etc.

The glory arising out of the composition of the *Saṅgīta-ratnākara* is divided between Kashmir and Deccan. Nevertheless, from an account of Kashmir's contribution to Sanskrit literature it cannot be left out. The *Saṅgīta-ratnākara*[1] is the best known work on the science of music in its branches of dance and music both vocal and instrumental. Its author is Śārṅgadeva who was born in a well-to-do family of Kashmir in the thirteenth century A.D. His grandfather, Bhāskara, is known to have migrated to the Deccan. His father, Soḍḍhala, became famous and established the sovereignty of the Yādava king Singhana of Deogiri who ruled from 1132 to 1169 A.D. Śārṅgadeva was Auditor-General under that king. He was proficient in medicine and philosophy besides the science of music. He boastfully says, in his above work, that the goddess of learning, fatigued by her sojourn at many places, found enduring respite at his house. He sometimes designates himself as Niḥśaṅka, and under that name devised a type of Indian lute (*vīṇā*).

In this work, the author lays down the views of earlier authorities, and also sets forth original definitions and discussions. It is, therefore, a valuable work in the history of the musical literature in Sanskrit. The work consists of seven chapters each of which is sub-divided into sections called Prakaraṇas. The chapters, in order, are called thus :

Svarādhyāya (on musical notes, scales etc.),
Rāgādhyāya (definitions and illustrations of different types of melodies etc.),
Prakīrṇādhyāya (dealing with technical terms etc.),
Prabandhādhyāya (gives rules of composition etc.),
Tālādhyāya (deals with measures of time),

1. Ed. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, Adyar, 1944 onwards.

Vādyādhyāya (on musical instruments and their use),

Nartanādhyāya (on dancing and acting).

The importance and popularity of Śārṅgadeva's work are proved by the existence of several commentaries on it. The well-known commentators are Siṃhabhūpāla, Keśava, Kallinātha, Haṃsabhūpāla and Kumbhakarṇa.

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APPENDIX I

Minor Poets of Kashmir

Sanskrit anthologies quote verses of several persons who are either definitely known to have been Kashmirian or whose affiliation to Kashmir can be inferred from their peculiar names or titles. We collect here the names of those of such persons who are otherwise unknown or are not known to have composed any poetical work. Under their names we give, where possible, as much information as can be gathered about them. Against their names we note the references to the anthologies[1] in which their verses occur.

The poetical works of some minor writers are available in manuscripts. The authors of such works also are mentioned in this list.

(Names of authors are in Sanskrit alphabetical order).

Amṛtadatta (court-poet of Shāhābuddin, ruler of Kashmir).	Sbhv. 31, 43, 72 and many other verses. Skm. 573 Smv. 2. 64 ; 12. 6.
Avantivarman (Probably King of Kashmir, 855-884 A.D.)	Sbhv. 1699, 1802, 1889 Skm. 927 Smv. 60. 18 ; 69. 1

1. The following abbreviations have been used here :—
Sbhv.—*Subhāṣitāvalī* of *Vallabhadeva*, *Bombay*, 1886.
Skm. —*Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa, ed. S. C. Banerji, Calcutta, 1964.
Smv. —*Sūkti-muktāvalī* of Jahlaṇa, Baroda, 1938.
Srk. —*Subhāṣita-ratnakoṣa* of Vidyākara, ed. Kosambi and Gokhale, 1957.

Ānandaka (called Rājānaka[1])	Sbhv. 1985
Ānanda (of uncertain date. According to Bühler,[3] he was a Kashmirian. One Rājānaka Ānanda appears to have written a commentary on the *Saṭ-triṃśat-tattvasandoha*[4] Is he identical with Ānandaka ?)	An *Ānanda-kāvya*[2] is ascribed to him. Each of its verses has two meanings.
(Rājānaka) Ānandasvāmin	Sbhv. 2389
(Rājānaka) Āhlādaka	Sbhv. 1257
Utpalarāja (Utpala is the name of a Kashmirian teacher of Abhinavagupta of the tenth century A.D. This is also the name of a line of Kashmirian rulers beginning with Avantivarman of the ninth century A.D.)	Srk. 332, 381, 553 Smv (Utpaladeva) 133. 3, 4
(Rājānaka) Kamalākara	Sbhv. 3516
Kayyaṭa (or Kaiyaṭa) (See chap. VII)	Smv. 103. 16 (?), 17 Sbhv. 2039, 2040, 2044, 2499

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1. It was a title conferred, as a personal distinction, by the kings of Kashmir.
2. MS. No. 108 (Bühler's *Detailed Report* etc., Appendix I.
3. See *Detailed Report* etc. p. 61.
4. Vide Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. 13, Srinagar, 1918.

Kalaśa (King of Kashmir from 1080 to 1088 A.D. For information about the king as a poet and patron of learning, see Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, XVIII, 56)	Sbhv. 52, 53, 562 and several other verses.
Kallaṭa (Author of the *Spanda-sarvasva* comm. on the *Spanda-kārikā* of his teacher Vasugupta. According to Kalhaṇa, he was a contemporary of king Avantivarman of Kashmir in the 9th. century A.D.)	Sbhv. 136, 431, 432, 2483 . 2565
Gopāditya (May be identical with the king of Kashmir of the same name. See *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, I. 344)	Sbhv. 1368, 2110 Smv. 75.6
Caṇḍamādhava or Pracaṇḍamādhava. (with 'Kāśmīra' prefixed to the name)	Skm. 1087
Jagaddhara (Author of the *Stuti-kusumāñjali*, a hymn in honour of Śiva)	Sbhv. 12, 13, 14, and several other verses.
Jayavardhana (Sometimes qualified as Bhāgavata. He is called Kāśmīraka in some MSS. of Skm. in verse No. 1069)	Sbhv. 678, 761, 766 and several other verses Skm. 1069 Smv. 13.8 ; 32.12, 74.9, 75.8, 110.66

Jayāpīḍa (King of Kashmir from 779 to 813.A.D. For information about his learning, see R.T., IV. 488)	Sbhv. 661
Jenduka May be identical with the poet Jinduka referred to by Maṅkha in the *Śrīkaṇṭha-carita*, XXV. 71-72, as a Kashmirian poet and a contemporary of Kalhaṇa)	Sbhv. 2166
Nāyaka (Bhaṭṭa Nayāka) (See Chap. VI)	Sbhv. 736
(Kāśmīra) Nārāyaṇa	Skm. 697 (Sbhv. 1591—Nārāyaṇa)
Pravarasena (King of Kashmir in the fifth century A.D. and author of the Prākrit poem *Setubandha*.)	Sbhv. 1944. Skm. 508, 660, 1390 Srk. 723
Baka (Flourished during the reign of Zain-ul-Ābidin in the first half of the fifteenth century A.D.)	Sbhv. 577, 1443, 1505, 1506 and several other verses.
Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka (Same as Nāyaka above)	Smv. 33.20
Bhāmaha (See Chap. IV)	Sbhv. 1644, 1645 Skm. 1894

(Kāśmīraka) Bhogakarman	Sbhv. 1825 (Bhogivarman) Skm. 1318 Smv. 62. 21
Maṅkha (Maṅkhaka or Maṅkhaṇa)	Sbhv. 170, 171 and several other verses. Smv. 2.13, 36.49
Manoratha (Mentioned in R.T. (IV. 496) as one of the court-poets of Jayāpīḍa, king of Kashmir.)	Sbhv. 51, 58, 440
Mahāmanuṣya (called Kāśmīraka in Skm.)	Sbhv. 1695, 1696, 1697 and many other verses. Skm. 985 Smv. 63.3 ; 64.4 ; 72.21, 22
Mātṛgupta (One Mātṛguptācārya is quoted by Abhinavagupta on music. Some other writers, notably Śārṅgadeva, author of the *Saṅgīta-ratnākara*, refer to Mātṛguptācārya as an authority on music. Rāghavabhaṭṭa, commentator of the *Śakuntalā*, and Vāsudeva, commentator of the *Karpūra-mañjarī*, quote him as a writer on Dramaturgy. Some scholars think that Mātṛgupta wrote a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*, while others think that he wrote an independent metrical work on Dramaturgy. From the R.T.	Sbhv. 2550, 3181 Srk. 1499

(III. 125-252) we learn that Mātṛgupta was a poet under king Harṣa Vikramāditya who made him succeed Hiraṇya on the throne of Kashmir. If Mātṛguptācārya is identical with this Mātṛgupta, then he must have flourished in the sixth century A.D. Verses attributed to Mātṛgupta are quoted by Kalhaṇa in the R.T., by Kṣemendra in his *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā*, by Vallabhdeva in the *Subhāṣttāvalī* and by Vidyākara in his *Subhāṣita-ratnakoṣa*. Some scholars have tried, not on very convincing grounds, to prove the identity of Mātṛgupta and the master-poet Kālidāsa. Fragments of the writings of Mātṛgupta have been collected and published by T. R. Chintatamani in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, II, 1928.)

Muktāpīḍa (Son of Durlabha Mahārāja of Kashmir in the sixth century A.D.)	Sbhv. 585, 648, 654, 655
Meṇṭha (also called Bhartṛmeṇṭha)	Sbhv. 267, 268, 1462, 1903, 2233.
(According to R.T., III. 260 ff., his patron was king Mātṛ-	Skm. 564, 576, 1852, 1853.

gupta of Kashmir in the fifth century A.D. We learn from later works that Meṇṭha composed a remarkable poem called *Haya-grīva-vadha* the first stanza of which is quoted by Kṣemendra in his *Suvṛtta-tilaka* as well as by some commentators and anthologists. Meṇṭha's poem is mentioned in Kuntaka's *Vakrokti-jīvita* and in the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* of Rāma candra and Guṇacandra.)	Srk. 1558 (Metha) Smv. 88.61 ; 110.14, 15.
Raṇāditya (Probably the Mahārājā of Kashmir of the same name. See R.T., III. 388)	Sbhv. 3075
Ralhaṇa (A typically Kashmirian name)	Smv. 5.2 ; 22.9 ; 23.6 ; 33.11
Ravigupta (In the *Catalogus Catalogorum* one Ravigupta, with the title Bhadanta, is found as author of a *Candra-prabhā-vijaya-kāvya* and a *Loka-saṃvyavahāra-nāmāṅka*. A Ravigupta is mentioned in Yaśodhara's commentary on the *Kāma-sūtra*. The name of Ravigupta is well known in Buddhist literature, and is mentioned in Tāranātha's *Geschichte* etc. This Ravi-	Srk. 1253, 1269 Sbhv. quotes 55 stanzas attributed to Ravigupta. Skm. 1660 Smv. quotes several stanzas of Ravigupta.

gupta may be identical with the Kashmirian Ravigupta, author of the *Pramāṇa-vārtika-vṛtti*. See Chap. VI of this book)	
Rājakulabhaṭṭa (Probably a Kashmirian poet. Mentioned in the R.T., VI. 246)	Sbhv. 216, 217
Rudraṭa or Rudra (The noted rhetorician, and not to be confused with Rudra, author of the *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*. For Rudraṭa, the rhetorician, See Chap. IV)	Sbhv. 421, 730 etc. Skm. 32, 501 and many other verses. Srk. 372, 543 Smv. 2.5 ; 38.23
Rājānaka) Laulaka	Sbhv. 1688, 3322
Vāmana (See Chap. IV)	Sbhv. 804 Skm. 52, 1065, 1109, 1132, 1244, 1315. Smv. 43.23, 24, 57.10 ; 68.14 ; 78.4 ; 82.31
Vigraharāja (May be a Kashmirian. Several princes of Kashmir had this name.)	Sbhv. 1162
(Rājānaka) Vijayapāla	Sbhv. 1466
(Rājānaka) Śuga	Sbhv. 1780
(Kāśmīraka) Śyāmala (Probably identical with Śyāmalaka in Sbhv. 2292)	Skm. 848
(Kāśmīraka) Suramūla	Skm. 1198

APPENDIX II

Works of Kṣemendra known by name only.

Some of the works of Kṣemendra are known by name only from various sources. Those of his works, which are mentioned in his *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā*, *Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Suvṛtta-tilaka*, are indicated respectively by A, K, and S. The titles of the works are arranged in the English alphabetical order.

Amṛta-taraṅga (or—turaṅga)	K
Avasara-sāra	— A
Citrabhārata-nāṭaka	— A, K
Kanaka-jānakī	— K
Kavi-karṇikā	— A
Lalita-ratna-mālā	
Lāvaṇyavatī-kāvya	— A, K
Muktāvalī-kāvya	— A, K
Muni-mata-mīmāṃsā	— A
Nīti-latā	— A
Padya-kādambarī	— K
Pavana-pañcāśikā	— S
Rājāvalī (Mentioned in the *Rājataraṅginī*, I. 13 and scathingly criticised for unreliability.)	
Śaśi-vaṃśa-mahākāvya	— K
Vātsyāyana-sūtra-sāra	— A
Vinaya-vallī	— A

Besides the above, the following works of Kṣemendra are mentioned in the sources noted against them.

Kṣemendra-prakāśa	— Aufrecht's *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, Oxon ii. 1864.
Śilāśataka	— Mentioned in an anonymous work called *Rasaviveka* or *Kāvyādarśa*. See *Triennial Cat. of Skt. MSS.* in Oriental Library, Madras, I. 804.
Vyāsāṣṭaka	— Bühler's *Kashmir Report*, 1877, No. 154 (p.p. 45-46)

APPENDIX III

A Classified List of the Sanskrit Works of Kashmir.

The Sanskrit works, written by Kashmirians, may be broadly classified as follows :

A. Works on Poetics and Dramaturgy (including commentaries).

B. Poetical Compositions (including commentaries).

C. Philosophical and religious works (including commentaries).

D. Miscellaneous works.

The titles of the works of each class, along with their respective authors, are given below in the Sanskrit alphabetical order. This list includes also titles known by name only.[1]

A. Works on Poetics and Dramaturgy (including commentaries)

Title	Author
Abhidhā-vṛtti-mātṛkā	Mukula
Abhinava-bhāratī	Abhinavagupta
Alaṇkāra-sarvasva	Ruyyaka
Alaṇkāra-sūtra	Ruyyaka
Alaṅkāra-mañjarī	Ruyyaka

1. For such works by Kṣemendra, see Appendix II.

Title	Author
Alaṅkāra-vārtika	Ruyyaka
Alaṅkāra-vimarśinī	Jayaratha
Alaṅkārodāharaṇa	Jayaratha
Udbhaṭa-viveka (or, -vicāra)	Tilaka
Aucitya-vicāra-carcā	Kṣemendra
Kavi-karṇikā	Kṣemendra
Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa	Kṣemendra
Kāvya-kautuka	Bhaṭṭa Tauta
Kāvya-prakāśa	Mammaṭa
Kāvya-prakāśa-nidarśana (same as *Śitikaṇṭha-vibodhana*)	Ānanda
Kāvya-prakāśa-saṅketa	Ruyyaka
Kāvyālaṅkāra-saṃgraha	Udbhaṭa
Kāvyālaṅkāra (Same as *Bhāmahālaṅkāra*)	Bhāmaha
Kāvyālaṅkāra	Rudraṭa
Kāvyālaṅkāra-vivṛti (Same as Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa)	Udbhaṭa
Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti	Vāmana
Kāvyāloka (Same as *Dhvanyāloka* or *Sahṛdayāloka*)	Ānandavardhana
Kāvyāloka-locana (Briefly called *Locana*)	Abhinavagupta
Tattvāloka	Ānandavardhana
Tattvokti-kośa	Mahimabhaṭṭa
Dhvanyāloka (Also called *Kāvyāloka* or *Sahṛdayāloka*)	Ānandavardhana
Nāṭaka-mīmāṃsā	Ruyyaka
Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa (Same as *Kāvyālaṇkāra-vivṛti*)	Udbhaṭa
Bhāmahālaṅkāra (Same as *Kāvyālaṅkara*)	Bhāmaha
Mata-parīkṣā	Ānandavardhana
Locana (Same as *Kāvyāloka-locana*)	Abhinavagupta
Vakrokti-jīvita	Kuntaka

Title	Author
Vyakti-viveka	Mahimabhaṭṭa
Vyakti-viveka-vicāra (or, —vyākhyāna)	Ruyyaka
Śabda-vyāpāra-paricaya (or,—vicāra, or, —carcā)	Mammaṭa
Śitikaṇṭha-vibodhana (Same as *Kāvya-prakāśa-nidarśana*)	Ānanda
Śṛṅgāra-tilaka	Rudra
Sahṛdaya-līlā	Ruyyaka
Sahṛdayāloka (Same as *Dhvanyāloka* or *Kāvyāloka*)	Ānandavardhana
Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā	Ruyyaka
Hṛdaya-darpaṇa	Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka

B. Poetical Compositions

(including commentaries)

Title	Author
Anyokti-muktālatā	Śambhu
Arjuna-carita	Ānandavardhana
Arjuna-rāvaṇīya (Same as *Rāvāṇārjunīya*)	Bhaṭṭa Bhīma or Bhaumaka
Ardhanārīśvara-stotra	Kalhaṇa
Alaṅkārānusāriṇī	Ruyyaka
Avadāna-kalpalatā (Same as *Bodhisattvā-vadāna-kalpalatā*)	Kṣemendra
Ānanda-kāvya	Ānanda
Īśvara-śataka	Avatāra
Kathā-kautuka	Śrīvara
Kathā-sarit-sāgara	Somadeva
Kapphiṇābhyudaya	Śivasvāmin

Kalā-vilāsa	Kṣemendra
Kādambarī-kathāsāra	Abhinanda
Kuṭṭanī-mata	Dāmodaragupta
Kumāra-sambhava	Udbhaṭa
Ghaṭakarpara-vivṛti	Abhinavagupta
Caturvarga-saṃgraha	Kṣemendra
Cāru-caryā	Kṣemendra
Caura-pañcāśikā (Same as *Caurī* (or, *Caura*) —*surata-pañcāsikā*)	Bilhaṇa
Jayasiṃhābhyudaya	Kalhaṇa
Jaina-rājataraṅgiṇī	Śrīvara
Darpa-dalana	Kṣemendra
Daśāvatāra-carita	Kṣemendra
Devīnāma-vilāsa	Sāhib Kaula
Devī-śataka	Ānandavardhana
Deśopadeśa	Kṣemendra
Dvitīya-rājataraṅgiṇī	Jonarāja
Dhvani-gāthā-pañcikā	Ratnākara
Narma-mālā	Kṣemendra
Nīti-kalpataru	”
Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya	?
Bilhaṇa-kāvya	Bilhaṇa
Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī	Kṣemendra
Bodhisattvā-vadāna-kalpalatā (Same as *Avadāna-kalpalatā*)	Kṣemendra
Bhallaṭa-śataka	Bhallaṭa
Bhārata-mañjarī	Kṣemendra
Bhāvopahāra	Cakrapāṇinātha
Bhuvanābhyudaya	Śaṅkuka
Mugdhopadeśa	Jahlaṇa
Rāja-taraṅgiṇī	Kalhaṇa
Rājāvalī (or, Nṛpāvalī)	Kṣemendra
Rājāvalī-patākā	Prājya Bhaṭṭa
Rājendrā-karṇapūra	Śambhu
Rāmāyaṇa-mañjarī	Kṣemendra
Rāvaṇārjunīya (Same as *Arjuna-rāvaṇīya*)	Bhaṭṭa Bhīma or Bhaumaka
Vakrokti-pañcāśikā	Ratnākara

Title	Author
Vikramāṅkadeva-carita	Bilhaṇa
Viṣama-padoddyota	Alaka
Śānti-śataka	Śilhana
Śāmba-pañcāśikā	?
Śrīkaṇṭha-stava	Ruyyaka
Śrīkaṇṭha-carita	Maṅkha
Samaya-mātṛkā	Kṣemendra
Subhāṣita-muktāvalī (Same as *Sūkti-muktāvalī*)	Jalhaṇa
Subhāṣitāvalī	Vallabhadeva
Sūkti-muktāvalī (same as *Subhāṣita-muktāvalī*)	Jalhaṇa
Sevya-sevako-padeśa	Kṣemendra
Somapāla-vilāsa	Jahlaṇa
Stava-cintāmaṇī	Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa
Stuti-kusumāñjali	Jagaddhara
Stotrāvalī	Utapaladeva
Hara-vijaya	Ratnākara
Harṣa-carita-vārtika	Ruyyaka

C. Philosophical and religious works[1] (including commentaries)

Title	Author
Ajaḍa-pramātṛ-siddhi	Utpala
Īśvara-pratyabhijñā (Same as *Pratyabhijñā-sūtra* or *Pratyabhijñā-kārikā*)	Utpala
Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-vimarśinī (same as *Laghvī Vṛtti*)	Abhinavagupta
Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-vivṛti-vimarśinī	Abhinavagupta
Īśvara-siddhi	Utpala

1. The philosophical hymns are not included in this list.

Title	Author
Kāmakalā-vilāsa	Puṇyānandācārya
Tattvārtha-cintāmaṇi	Kallaṭa
Tattva-saṃdoha	Kṣemarāja
Tantra-sāra	Abhinavagupta
Tantra-vaṭadhānikā	Abhinavagupta
Tantrāloka	Abhinavagupta
Dharmottama	Ānandavardhana
Nareśvara-parīkṣā	Sadyojyoti
Nyāya-kalikā	Jayanta Bhaṭṭa
Nyāya-mañjarī	Jayanta Bhaṭṭa
Para-praveśikā	Kṣemarāja
Parātṛiṃśikā-vivṛti	Abhinavagupta
Paramārtha-sāra	Abhinavagupta
Pratyabhijñā-kārikā (same as *Iśvara-pratyabhijñā*)	Utpala
Pratyabhijñā-sūtra (same as *Iśvara-pratyabhijñā*)	Utpala
Pratyabhijñā-hṛdaya	Kṣemarāja
Pradīpikā	Utpala
Bodha-pañcadaśikā	Abhinavagupta
Madhuvāhinī	Kallaṭa
Mālinī-vijaya-vārtika	Abhinavagupta
Laghvī Vṛtti (same as *Iśvara-pratyabhijña-vimarśinī*)	Abhinavagupta
Śiva-sūtra	Believed to have been revealed to Vasugupta.
Śiva-sūtra-vṛtti	Kṣemarāja
Śiva-sūtra-vimarśinī	Kṣemarāja
Śiva-sūtra-vārtika	Bhāskara
Śiva-dṛṣṭi	Somānanda
Spanda-sūtra	Vasugupta
Spanda-vṛtti	Kallaṭa
Spanda-sarvasva (*Spanda-sūtra* and Kallaṭa's *Vṛtti* thereon are together	

Title	Author
so called)	
Spanda-saṃdoha	Kṣemarāja
Spanda-nirṇaya	Kṣemarāja
Spanda-pradīpikā	Utpala Vaiṣṇava
Spandāmṛta	Vasugupta

D. Miscellaneous Works

Title	Class to which the work belongs	Author
Anekārtha-kośa (same as *Maṅkha-kośa*)	Lexicon	Maṅkha
Āgamaḍambara	Drama	Jayanta Bhaṭṭa
Karṇasundarī	Drama	Bilhaṇa
Kāśikā-vṛtti	Grammar	Vāmana-Jayāditya
Cāndra-vyākaraṇa	Grammar	Candragomin
Tantrākhyāyikā	Fable	?
Nīlamata-purāṇa	Purāṇa	?
Pradīpa	Grammar	Kaiyaṭa
Maṅkha-kośa (Same as *Anekārtha-kośa*)	Lexicon	Maṅkha
Ratnākara-purāṇa	Purāṇa	?
Rāmābhyudaya	Drama	Yaśovarman
Lāsakī	Commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*	Lasakāka
Lokaprakāśa	Lexicon (?)	Kṣemendra
Lokānanda	Drama	Candragomin
Viṣṇudharmottara	Purāṇa	?
Saṅgīta-ratnākara	Music	Śārṅgadeva
Suvṛtta-tilaka	Prosody	Kṣemendra

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ADDENDUM

We set forth here information about certain authors and works, believed to be of Kashmir, that escaped our notice while this brochure was prepared.[1]

Titles of works and names of authors have been given in the alphabetical order.

Ahirbudhnya-saṃhitā.[2]

A Tantra of the Viṣṇuite Pāñcarātra sect. It is believed to have originated in Kashmir not long after the fourth century A.D. As it knows the three great schools of Buddhism and as the astrological term *horā* occurs in it (XI. 28), it cannot have possibly originated before the 4th. century A.D. It is believed, on good grounds, to have heen contemporaneous with, or a little earlier than, the *Sāṃkhya-kārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa.

It is in the form of a conversation between Ahirbudhnya (Śiva) and Nārada, and deals partly with philosophy and largely with occultism. The philosophical portion includes some chapters on Creation. In connection with creation, it gives an interesting survey of the various systems of religion aad philosophy. It is followed by rules for the castes and Āśramas. Several chapters deal with the mystic significance of the letters of the alphabet. There is a fine description of the ideal Vaiṣṇava teacher and there are rules ahout Dīkṣā. The usual topics of Tantra, viz., Mantra, Yantra etc. are described in the work. Some chapters describe

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1. The *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa* of Udbhaṭa, stated in the book to be lost, has recently been recovered. It has been mentioned in the Bibliography.
2. Ed. M. D. Rāāmnujācārya, Adyar, Madras, 1916.

diagrams which are to be used as amulets too. In a few chapters are described the cult, the theory and practice of Yoga, secret powers by which might can be attained. Ceremonies to be performed by a king to ensure victory in war form the subject-matter of some chapters. Several chapters are devoted to sorcery. An appendix contains a hymn of the thousand names of the divine Sudarśana.

Alaṃkāra-ratnākara of Śobhākara.

From Peterson (*Report*. i, p. 12) we learn that the Kashmirian poet Yaśaskara extracted some *sūtras* on Alaṃkāra from a work entitled *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* by Śobhākaramitra. The *Ratnākara* of Jagannātha refers to this *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* of Śobhākara. Jayaratha criticises the Kashmirian Śobhākara who deviates from Ruyyaka. Jagannātha says that Appayya Dīkṣita follows the *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara*.

Chiku Bhaṭṭa

A grammarian believed to have been a Kashmirian.

Devī-stotra of Yaśaskara

According to Peterson, the Kashmirian poet Yaśaskara extracted some *sūtras* on Alaṃkāra from the *Alaṃkāra-ratnākara* by Śobhākaramitra, and illustrated them in his *Devī-stotra* by composing verses in praise of Devī.[1]

Dṛḍhabala

Son of Kapilabala, he appears to have been a Kashmirian, and is assigned to the eighth or ninth century A.D. The extant *Caraka-saṃhitā*, believed to be the earliest available text on Āyurveda, is stated to have been revised by Dṛḍhabala. Dṛḍhabala himself admits to having added the last two chapters of the work and to having written 17 out of 28 or 30 chapters of book vi.

1. See S. K. De : *Sanskrit Poetics*, 1960, I, p. 235.

Jagaddhara

Author of the grammatical work *Bālabodhinī* (1475 A.D.), and believed to have been a Kashmirian. A *Stuti-kusumāñjali* (1450 A.D.) is also ascribed to him.

Jejjaṭa

Commentator on the *Caraka-saṃhitā*, and perhaps belonged to Kashmir.

Kṣīrasvāmin

The famous commentator on the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* of Amara, he is supposed by some to have flourished in Kashmir[1]. Others, however, think that he was an inhabitant of Central India.[2] He is generally assigned to the second half of the 11th. century A.D.

Maheśa Daivajña.

The work on astrology, entitled *Raṇavīra-jyotir-mahāni-bandha*, is stated to have been written by Maheśa under the patronage of Raṇavīrasiṃha, king of Kashmir.

Medhātithi

The oldest commentator on the *Manu-smṛti*. He is supposed by some to have been a Kashmirian. The main reasons for this assumption are as follows :—

(i) He introduces Kashmir in explaining such words as *svarāṣṭre* and *janapadaḥ* (*Manu-smṛti*, VII. 32 and VIII. 42).

(ii) He states (on Manu VIII. 400) that the monopoly of the sale of elephants is a privilege of the kings of Kashmir where saffron is available in plenty.

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1. See P. V. Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I, p. 269.
2. See *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, ed. H. D. Sharma and Sardesai, Poona, 1941 (Intro., p. v).

(iii) He says (on Manu IV. 59) that the rainbow is called *vijñāna-chāyā* in Kashmir.

(iv) He says (on Manu II. 24) that in the Himalayas in Kashmir it is not possible to perform daily *Saṃdhyā* (prayer) in the open nor is it possible to bathe every day in a river in Hemanta and Śiśira.

Later writers like Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, author of the Smṛti digest *Nirṇaya-sindhu*, however, regard Madhātithi as a southerner.

Patañjali

Author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, traditionally known as a Kashmirian.

Piṅgala

Author of the *Chandaḥsūtra*, and believed to have been a Kashmirian.

Ratirahasya

A work on erotics, dealing with biological and psychological problems of sex, by Koka, son of Tejoka, believed to have been a Kashmirian.

(Rājānaka) Ratnakaṇṭha.

The title Rājānaka indicates that he was a Kashmirian. Son of Śaṃkarakaṇṭha and grandson of Anantakavi of the Dhaumyāyana family. He wrote the *Sāra-samuccaya*, a commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa. He wrote also *Stuti-kusumāñjali-ṭīkā* (called *Śiṣyahitā*) in 1611 A.D., and a *Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya-kāvya-ṭīkā* in 1672 A.D. Besides, he copied the *codex archetypus* of the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, mentioned by Stein (introduction, p. vii f), and also transcribed Mss. of the *Saṃketa* of Ruyyaka in 1648, of Rāyamukuṭa's commentary on the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* of Amara in 1655, and of Trilocanadāsa's *Kātantra-pañjikā* in 1673 A.D. To him

are ascribed also the *Ratna-śataka*, 100 verses in praise of sun, the *Sūrya-stuti-rahasya* and the *Laghu-pañcikā*, a commentary on the *Haravijaya*.

Vṛttaratnākara

A work on prosody, by Kedārabhaṭṭa who is supposed to have been a Kashmirian.

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(Details about the editor etc. in respect of the Sanskrit works of Kashmir have been given under the description of the respective texts. Here we list only those books of a general nature and journals which have been chiefly consulted in writing this book, and editions of some texts not mentioned before).

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POSTSCRIPT

Certain facts about Kashmir's contribution to Sanskrit literature came to our notice after this book, including the Addendum, had been printed off. These facts are stated below.

Atharvaveda

The Paippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda is believed by some scholars to have originated in Kashmir. The facsimile of this recension was published by M. Bloomfield and R. Garbe (The Kashmirian Atharvaveda, Stuttgart, 1901). Books I, II, IV—X of the Kashmirian recension have been published, with notes on the text, by Le Roy Carr Barret and F. Edgerton in the *Journal of American Oriental Society*, Vols. 26, 30, 32, 34, 35, 40-43, 1906-1923.

Prajñāpāramitā

According to T. Matsumoto, the Buddhist works called Prajñāpāramitās originated in Kashmir between the birth of Christ and the time of Kaniṣka (2nd century A. D.). Vide Die Prajñāpāramitā-Literatur nebst einem Specimen der Suvikrāntavikrāmi-Prajñāpāramitā (Bonner Orientalistische Studien Heft I), Stuttgart, 1932, p. 31.

Sarvānukramaṇī

Catalogue of all things for the Ṛgveda, by Kātyāyana. On a Kashmirian recension of this work, a reference may be made to Scheftelowitz Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, herausg von der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, I, 1922.

Mahānayaprakāśa

(Ed. K. Sastri, TSS, 1937) A work attributed to Abhinavagupta, it deals with the principles of Śākta system of philosophy. It must be distinguished from the work of the same title by Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha, which contains vernacular Kārikās followed by commentaries in Sanskrit.

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